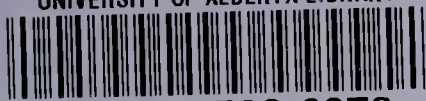


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THE ANGLICAN CLERGY IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT: 1820-1826

by

John E. Foster .

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA



UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement 1820-1826" submitted by John E. Foster in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.





## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the efforts of three Evangelical Anglican clergymen to establish a successful missionary enterprise in the Red River Settlement during the years 1820 to 1826. Their activities were of significance not only to the Anglican missionary effort in Rupert's Land but to the development of the Settlement as well. During the early years of the 1820's the lure of the hunt and the trapline was irresistible. Only the Kildonan Scots persisted in the struggle for a rewarding life as an agrarian community. In their pursuit of the trapline the inhabitants came into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company. Not until 1823 did the Company discover the means which offered success in their struggle with the inhabitants for control of the fur trade. However, the plains and the buffalo hunt still beckoned. The migration of large numbers of half-breeds from the surrounding hinterland to the Settlement after 1823 threatened to engulf the few vestiges of British civilization that existed. At this crucial point the Anglican missionaries tipped the balance in favor of Christianity and civilization in the Protestant community in the Settlement.

The first Anglican missionary, Rev. John West, alienated the members of every community and organization in the Settlement. In 1823 the Company found it necessary to terminate his employment as their chaplain. However, before his departure he developed the various means of persuasion which later missionaries would use to evangelize the populace. His successor, Rev. David Jones, brought the different pro-



grams to fruition. The increase in church and school attendance recorded his success. At the same time Jones proved to be admirably suited for the work of reconciliation with the various communities in the Settlement. With his co-worker, Rev. William Cockran, Jones successfully established workable relationships with the members of the different communities and interested organizations.

By 1826 a secure foundation had been established for Anglicanism in the Settlement. The missionaries had successfully redefined their original goals in terms of their new environment. The means of persuasion were developed which promised success in the future, and the Anglican clergy occupied a position of leadership which they exercised in favor of British civilization and in opposition to the surrounding barbarism.







## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

P.A.C. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa

H.B.C.A. Hudson's Bay Company, microfilmed documents in the  
Public Archives, Ottawa

C.M.S.A. Church Missionary Society, microfilmed documents,  
University of Alberta, Edmonton





## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Until the arrival in 1820 of the Anglican missionary, Rev. John West, the inhabitants of Rupert's Land were subjected to only one element of British civilization, the fur trade. Through the fur trade the people were introduced to British goods. The result was a technological revolution. Although Indian society retained its traditional form, the "old order" was gone. Economic and social rewards were under the control of the small white community which conducted the fur trade. In the region of the Red River Settlement "castoffs" of the fur trade and the remnants of Lord Selkirk's colonization efforts sought the means of achieving a rewarding life in a harsh land. At the same time the various communities which made up the heterogeneous population of the Settlement were in conflict with each other and with the Hudson's Bay Company. This conflict represented an effort by the inhabitants to give actuality to the myth that gave their lives purpose and direction. The myth envisaged the "good life" based on successful participation in the fur trade. In the conflict with the Company the people focussed their attention on the control of the fur trade in the region of the Settlement. In time the "means" and the "end" became one. The fur trade myth was born. When the Company emerged





victorious in the struggle for control of the trade, devotion to the fur trade myth was replaced by a sense of dejection. Another element of British civilization, the Anglican mission, appeared to offer new hope for the future to those who would listen.

The close of the eighteenth century in Great Britain saw the emergence of the Evangelical movement in the Anglican church. Spurning the learned discourses of the latitudinarian clergy, the Evangelicals in the Anglican church with their compatriots of the dissenting churches sought to revitalize the religious and moral life of the nation by conducting their lives in the light of a few simple theological truths. It was a religious movement of the heart, not the head. The social implications of Evangelical religion supported the various institutions which constituted the social, economic, and political structure of the nation. Unlike the revolutionaries of continental Europe, the Evangelicals did not threaten the framework of society. Their purpose was a reformation in the light of God's word. To accomplish this task, the Evangelicals created a variety of humanitarian societies. The Church Missionary Society was one of the largest of these societies formed by Evangelical Anglicans. Its particular purpose was the conversion of the pagan peoples of the world. The missionaries of this Society were not fleeing a corrupt Europe to establish a religious utopia in the wilds of distant lands. Britain was their ideal, no matter how imperfectly she might manifest her spiritual and





cultural supremacy. The Anglican missionaries in the Red River Settlement came as the prophets of a new order, the British way of life, revitalized religiously and culturally by Evangelicalism.

The years during which the Anglican missionaries labored in this remote corner of the empire without the supervision of a resident bishop, 1820 to 1849,<sup>1</sup> falls into three distinct periods, which are coterminous with periods of social development in the Settlement. Following the conclusions of the fur trade competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821, the people of the Settlement experienced a period of chaos and instability reminiscent of the previous decade. During the con-

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<sup>1</sup>The Evangelicals within the Anglican Church who established the Church Missionary Society opposed the high church party view that the episcopacy should direct missionary enterprise. The opposition of the Church Missionary Society to this view did not stem from an anti-episcopalian bias, but rather from a fear that such a view would lead to high church domination of the missionary field. Eugene Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, I (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1899), 65. In later years the Society welcomed the appointment of Bishops in their various mission fields when these individuals held Evangelical views. In the early years of the eighteenth century the Society experienced difficulties in obtaining ordination for their missionaries. The appointment of an Evangelical as the Bishop of Bristol, in 1814, appeared to solve the problem. However, the Bishop of London challenged the Bishop of Bristol's authority to ordain ministers for the foreign missions. In 1819 the British Government solved this contentious issue with the Colonial Service Act. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London were given the authority to ordain men for the various colonies and possessions of Britain. From that time the missionaries of the Society were ordained by the Bishop of London. Eugene Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, I (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1899), 245.





flict with the Company the Settlement teetered towards anarchy and collapse. The severe winter of 1825-26 and the flood of the following spring functioned as a social catharsis. Conflicts came to a head only to be dissipated in the struggle for survival. In the aftermath the most turbulent elements among the inhabitants migrated to what they expected would be the friendlier environs of the United States or the Canadas. The result was a period of relative stability for the Settlement.

The period from 1826 to 1840, however, was not one of complete stability in the Settlement. The relatively large migrations from the trading posts of the surrounding hinterland, which began in 1824, continued unabated. The Metis were evolving their own way of life based on the buffalo hunt, while the almost equally numerous "English" half-breeds were taking their first tentative steps towards life in an agrarian community. In the later part of the period they were followed by the Muscaigo or Swampy Cree and the Saulteaux Indians. Although the Settlement appeared to absorb the newcomers successfully, superficial stability did not hide completely the inner tensions which still remained. Incidents such as the near rebellion of 1835 were harbingers of the next decade of unrest.

The years 1840 to 1849 saw the development of social unrest culminating in the "common man's" victory in the Sayer trial in 1849. The American frontier to the south was now sufficiently developed to offer an alternative to





life in the Settlement under the benevolent but paternal eye of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time the people of the Settlement were sufficiently assimilated into the British way of life to demand a further share of the rewards offered by that culture. These developments heralded the revival of the fur trade myth. Illicit furs now had an outlet other than the seasonal route north through Hudson Bay. The cry of free trade became the unifying slogan for the diverse elements of the Settlement until the hollow victory of the Sayer trial proved that the fur trade could not offer the "good life" to all. By 1849 the Settlement was no longer isolated from other regions of North America. In subsequent years the Settlement would be influenced not only by British civilization but by other variants of this same culture originating in the United States and the Canadas.

The activities of the Anglican clergy fall into periods closely akin to those which mark the development of the Settlement. The years 1820 to 1826 constituted the period during which the clergy established a secure foundation for the Anglican mission. A variety of problems faced the three men involved. The goals which they had chosen, while still in Great Britain, had to be reassessed in terms of their new environment. At the same time it was necessary that they achieve an understanding with the various organizations and communities in the Settlement who had an interest in their activities. Lastly, the missionaries had to determine which means of persuasion at their disposal would prove most





effective. By 1826 these tasks had been accomplished. A foundation was secured for a greater missionary effort.

From 1826 to 1840 the Anglican missionary effort in the Settlement enjoyed its greatest success. This period was dominated by the work of one man, Rev. William Cockran. Bigoted, narrow, and suspicious, yet also kind, and generous, he almost single-handedly prayed, pleaded, cajoled and physically forced the half-breeds and the Indians to adopt an agrarian community life. The value of the foundation established in the years 1820 to 1826 was proven in the accomplishments of subsequent years. British civilization was firmly rooted on the banks of the Red River.

The decade from 1840 to 1849 might be termed the failure of success. Cockran's accomplishments in the previous period paved the way for the rebirth of a major missionary effort to all of Rupert's Land. Cockran was no longer alone. Additional missionaries established posts in the interior. Nevertheless, disturbing events transpired in the Settlement. The child-like acceptance of leadership by the half-breeds and Indians gave way to a new sense of power and a desire to enjoy more of the rewards of the white world. In the eyes of the missionaries this was a backward step. They redoubled their efforts to resist those aspects of civilization not approved by Evangelical values. Although the clergy maintained their important position in the Settlement, the enthusiasm engendered by Cockran's accomplishments was never to be revived. The sense of being close to a complete realization of their goals was gone.





The foundation years of the Anglican mission, 1820 to 1826, is the subject of this thesis. In terms of later developments in the Anglican missionary effort in Rupert's Land these years were particularly significant. Goals were defined; understandings were achieved with the interested organizations; workable relationships were established with the various communities in the Settlement; and the necessary means of persuasion were developed for evangelizing the inhabitants. All of these activities bore fruit in later years. However, the significance of the foundation years does not rest solely on later developments in the Anglican missionary movement in Rupert's Land. In their efforts to establish a secure foundation for the mission, the clergy played a significant role in the development of the Settlement itself. In 1820 men of British education and culture lived in the Settlement, but they were few in number.

"Around them washed the dull waves of an essentially primitive life, an economy founded on the hunt and the trapline, a society based on the union of the nomad and the trader."<sup>2</sup>

The migration of the retired servants and their half-breed families which began in 1824, threatened to engulf the Settlement. It was the clergy who met this threat and tipped the balance in favor of civilization at a crucial point in the Settlement's development.

The Anglican missionary effort during the foundation

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<sup>2</sup>W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 90.





years was in the hands of three clergymen. The first was the Oxford educated Rev. John West, who arrived in the Settlement in 1820 at the age of forty-two years. Leaving a wife and infant children in England, West made good use of the experience he gained during the fifteen years he spent in various curacies following his ordination in 1804. The construction of a mission building and the establishment of various schools in the Settlement were his handiwork. After his departure in 1823 he made one further trip to North America in 1825. At this time he visited the Mohawk Mission on the Grand River in Upper Canada for the New England Company. Subsequently he spent the rest of his life at the Parish of Chettle in Dorsetshire.

West's successor was the youthful Welshman, Rev. David Thomas Jones. Of a "farming" background, Jones did not enjoy the educational advantages of his predecessor, although he did spend two years in a seminary and another year in study under a tutor. The mission in the Settlement was Jones's first appointment as he was priested, at the age of twenty-six years, only a few days before his departure for Rupert's Land in 1823. In 1828 Jones returned to Britain to marry and bring back his wife to the Settlement. Her death in 1836, leaving him with several small children, was a blow to the mission as well as himself. In despair he returned to Britain in 1838 to accept the Professorship of Welsh in St. David's College. He died at the age of forty-five years, a year before his predecessor.





The third missionary, Rev. William Cockran, played a minor role during the foundation years, since he did not arrive with his wife and infant son until the summer of 1825. However, this "very big and vigorous man"<sup>3</sup> was destined to become a legend in his own lifetime. The same age as Jones, Cockran did not enjoy the educational advantages of his co-worker. During the four years prior to his appointment to the mission he "had been employed in agriculture and helping in a school."<sup>4</sup> He was priested only a few days before his departure for Rupert's Land. Except for a few short months in Toronto Cockran was destined to spend the remainder of his life in the Settlement. The high point of his career was the period from 1826 to 1840; however, the awe in which many individuals held him made him an influential person until his death at Portage La Prairie in 1865.

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<sup>3</sup>T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.





## CHAPTER II

### CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION

Christianity and civilization were the terms most frequently used to express the goal of the Anglican missionaries in the Red River Settlement. In essence the goal of the missionaries was to inculcate in the inhabitants of Rupert's Land the values of the Evangelical movement within the Anglican church in Great Britain. Evangelicals did not distinguish between their values and the standards of behavior established to support them; to Evangelicals they were one and the same thing. Nor did the Evangelicals limit themselves solely to religious topics. For them religion encompassed all facets of existence. Thus their values were nothing less than the blueprint for a way of life. Under the banner of Christianity and civilization West hoped to establish the Evangelical way of life in Rupert's Land within a short period of time. In the face of hostile environment this grandiose dream and unrealistic timetable could produce a reaction which, in turn, could defeat Anglican missionary efforts in Rupert's Land.

#### I. VALUES

The Evangelical movement was more than a religious





movement; although, religious interests were its principal motivation. Evangelicalism was a way of life. It divided a complex world into easily discernable patterns of black and white. It provided a millenium in the near future with the means necessary to attain this end.<sup>1</sup> The social values of Evangelicalism were, perhaps, of greater significance than its contribution to religious life in Britain and the empire.<sup>2</sup> The Evangelicals established guidelines for evaluating the behavior of the individual standing alone before his Maker and also in his family and community relationships. Social and political institutions were judged in the same light. These behavioral demands set the Evangelical apart from his neighbours in his day-to-day activi-

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<sup>1</sup>When considering the Evangelical movement, one can not ignore the "mass movement" aspects, particularly with respect to its "absolute" and "all inclusive" nature as well as the sense of immediacy which prevailed it. Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: New American Library, 1958), suggests stimulating hypotheses for examining such a movement. Of equal value is William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Random House, ?), in which the psychology of the religious person is examined.

<sup>2</sup>The discussion of the values of the Evangelical movement in this thesis is not meant to be exhaustive. It merely serves to establish a major aspect of the circumstances within which the Anglican clergy in the Red River Settlement acted. The bulk of the conclusions in this chapter are supported by the letters and journals of the individuals involved. The reader may question the validity of evidence taken from a later period. This criticism is valid to the extent that the Evangelical movement, particularly in the Anglican church, was still in its formative years during the 1820's. However, circumstances changed during the 1830's as a result of attacks on the movement by the Tractarians. By the 1840's the Anglican Evangelicals had developed a more precise definition of their views. In spite of these developments the values of the movement do not appear to have changed. The precise exposition of later years may have altered the emphasis placed on some values but not the values themselves.





ties. For the Britain of the early nineteenth century Evangelicalism was a new way of life.

The religious views of the Evangelicals rested upon an unsophisticated theology which focused on the omnipresence and omnipotence of God, man as "the fallen son of Adam"<sup>3</sup> and redemption through the traditional Protestant concept, justification by faith. The God of the Evangelicals was ever close and personal. His existence was confirmed in his protection and chastisement of individuals and nations. Jones, the second Anglican clergyman in the Red River Settlement, saw God's hand when he was saved from drowning on four different occasions.<sup>4</sup> The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society perceived "the judgements of the Lord... in the Red River Settlement when the Scarlet Fever prevailed so extensively and so fatally there."<sup>5</sup> While the Evangelicals considered God and the Christian religion as "pre-eminently one of love"<sup>6</sup> the Deity appeared more often in His Old Testament mantle; "our God is a jealous God: He will not allow any rival:..."<sup>7</sup> Unfortunate, even catastrophic events were seen

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<sup>3</sup>W. Jowett to W. Smith, February 12, 1833, Outgoing Correspondence (hereafter O.C.), North West America Missions (hereafter, as only these documents of the Church Missionary Society were consulted, this reference will not be mentioned), C.M.S.A.

<sup>4</sup>D. Jones, Journal, May 5, 1828, Incoming Correspondence (hereafter I.C.), C.M.S.A.

<sup>5</sup>R. Davies to W. Cockran, February 29, 1845, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>6</sup>J. Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 3, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>7</sup>Cockran, Journal, December 23, 1838, I.C., C.M.S.A.





as "all parts of the Discipline to keep us near to God, waiting and depending on Him and On Him only!"<sup>8</sup> At the same time Satan, the Prince of Darkness, though not as evident, was still "ever ready to sow the seeds of jealousy, distrust and division...."<sup>9</sup> The unequal struggle between God and Satan was foreordained to end in victory for the forces of righteousness. Thus the Secretary of the C.M.S. could cheer the Rev. A. Cowley, depressed by life at Manitoba Station, in the following terms:

I can also comfort you with the assurance that the work of the Lord is advancing in the church at home with a steady increase and the various grievous heresies which have of late afflicted the church are shifting like lambs.       ? the good old truth, to which the Society has adhered has remained like a rock, and the cause of the Society was never so firm and bright as at present.<sup>10</sup>

Victory was assured. The means of achieving it were known. The result was a sense of immediacy pervading the movement--sustaining the zeal of the individual members.

<sup>8</sup>Jowett to Cockran, February 11, 1833, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>9</sup>D. Coates to Cockran, February 24, 1834, O.C., C.M.S.A. The concept of Satan appears to have had a varied emphasis in Anglican Evangelical thought. When Satan did appear it was largely in the realm of human relationships. Natural phenomena such as floods, fires, and disease appeared as punishments or tests by God without reference to the Devil. From the primary sources it appears that Satan played a more prominent role with those clergy who exhibited a lower educational level than those in supervisory positions. Rev. W. Cockran appears to have emphasized the role of Satan more than others. In his journal for June 10, 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A., he noted that during a sermon on "wickedness being driven out" a parishoner collapsed in a faint. Both the clergyman and the congregation were obviously impressed. In a letter, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833, I.C., C.M.S.A., the writer gave "hell" its due: "I begin and preach about the miseries which those must endure in a future state who die under the displeasure of God,...."

<sup>10</sup>H. Venn to A. Cowley, June 1, 1849, O.C., C.M.S.A.





To the Evangelical the individual was "the fallen son of Adam" and, as such, lost to sin, pain and error. The way to attain the rewards of this life and afterwards was through salvation. The Evangelical looked to the "heart", not the "head", in this process.<sup>11</sup> In the words of Cockran:

They have to be brought exceedingly low before God will condescend to bestow his renewing grace to change their characters. The voyager's [sic] very bones must be broken; wearisome months must be appointed as his portion, to give him time to remember the transgressions of 30 or 40 years. His conscience must be quickened, so as to bring the agonies of the second death into his soul, that he may confess his sin with wet eyes, a trembling voice, and bleeding heart to God; before those whom he has taught to sin for 30 years. Then God will remember that he is the merciful, and gracious One, who forgets transgressions and forgives his enemies; and will condescend to look upon the miserable being, show him favour and give his savage wife a new heart and his adulterous progeny new dispositions....<sup>12</sup>

In essence salvation involved the coercing of the perverse will of man and its submission to the will of God. To further this end a system of formal and informal standards of behavior were established. On the basis of these standards the Evangelicals judged the righteousness of their own members and those outside the fold.

The views of the Evangelicals on the Christian life were a product of their uncomplicated theology and, as such, were characterized by an unsophisticated simplicity. The emphasis was on the "depth" of religious belief. Individuals

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<sup>11</sup>Smithurst to the Secretaries, June 12, 1839, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>12</sup>Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833, I.C., C.M.S.A.





were to avoid "the tendency of a regard to outward forms and observances ... [which] engross too great a share of attention and ... interfere with that spirituality of mind and deep \_\_\_\_\_ acquaintance with religion ...."<sup>13</sup> With this in mind the movement evolved standards of behavior which were designed to reveal the intensity of an individual's belief. Some of these standards were a "love for God's house, ... reverence for the Ordinances of Religion, ... readiness to be instructed, ... unwavering obedience to God's word, ... regard for the Lord's day, ... open confession of Christ and ... [a] constant desire to adorn His doctrine at home and abroad ...."<sup>14</sup> On the basis of these and other related rules the Anglican Evangelicals judged the state of an individual's soul and if salvation had been achieved, the degree to which he upheld his covenant with God. In addition to these rules of Christian devotion and witness the movement adopted standards of proper Christian social behavior.

In Evangelical thought there was no significant distinction made between religious and secular life. To these people the only two facets of human activity were the religious and irreligious. Secretary Davies of the Church Missionary Society expresses this view in a letter, in 1846, to Rev. J. Smithurst at the Indian Settlement:

They [the Christian Indians] should devote themselves to God as 'living sacrifices', and not 'be

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<sup>13</sup>Davies to Smithurst, March 29, 1847, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>14</sup>R. James to the Secretaries, August 6, 1847, I.C., C.M.S.A.





conformed to this world but transformed by the renewing of their minds'..... We have many painful proofs in this country at the present time showing how much worldliness may consist with a strict and scrupulous regard to outward forms and ceremonies of religion. At a church, in the neighbourhood of the place where I live, where there is reason to fear the plain and full simplicity of the Gospel is obscured by an undue stress laid upon ritual observances, ladies have been known to pass the whole night in gaiety and worldly amusements and then return home just in time to change their ball dresses for a more suitable attire to attend the daily morning service at eight o'clock.<sup>15</sup>

This same concept was reflected in the following journal entry by Smithurst:

Have been to the Rapids today and had a long conversation with Mr. James and Mr. Judge Thom about the establishing of a public subscription library for the use of the whole settlement. I must confess I am not very sanguine as to the success of the thing. It is proposed to unite all classes and if this be done I fear books must be introduced of which the clergy cannot approve, and that ere long there must be a division of subscribers into two classes namely the religious and worldly the latter of whom I apprehend will be mainly novel readers.<sup>16</sup>

The rules of social behavior emphasized by the movement could be described as those traditional middle class views and practices which could be justified in Evangelical theology. A great emphasis was placed on the family and relationships within this social unit. In his journal West continually stressed the sanctity and importance of marriage:

Having frequently enforced the moral and social obligation of marriage upon those who were living with, and had families by Indian or half caste women, I had the happiness to perform the ceremony

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<sup>15</sup>Davies to Smithurst, March 31, 1846, O.C., C.M. S.A.

<sup>16</sup>Smithurst, Journal, March 18, 1846, I.C, C.M.S.A.





for several of the most respectable of the settlers, under the conviction that the institution of marriage, and the security of property, were the fundamental laws of society.<sup>17</sup>

In another entry West declared:

If a colony is to be organized and established in the wilderness, the moral obligation of marriage must be felt. 'It is the parent', said Sir William Scott, 'not the child of civil society.'<sup>18</sup>

On another occasion this same Anglican clergyman justified his refusal to baptize the illegitimate child of a Swiss girl by the following statement: "Unless chastity be considered as a virtue, what hope can be entertained of forming any organized society?"<sup>19</sup> Other missionaries throughout the period under study emphasized the same view. Attention was also paid to relationships within the family. This can be seen in the following entry in Cockran's journal:

One of the parents who had a child to baptize (of negro descent by his paternal ancestor) had lived a very quarrelsome brawling life with his wife.... I declined officiating, alleging that as they had refused to be ruled by christian precepts; they were unworthy of christian privileges, and had no reason to expect them. While they lived at variance one with the other, they were out of the path of duty, consequently they could not be considered capable of training up a child in the fear of God. And as they had abused several of the ordinances of the christian church already, by giving way to their unruly feelings, I intend to suspend all christian privileges to them till I had full proof that they had forsook [sic] their errors, and were living together in peace and unity.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>John West, Substance of A Journal (London: L. B. Seeley and Son, 1824), p. 25.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>20</sup>Cockran, Journal, February 6, 1833, I.C., C.M.S.A.





The responsibilities of each individual were clearly enumerated; the head of the family, the wife, and the children each had reciprocal duties. In addition to the duties of family life specific attitudes and actions were encouraged as evidence of a Christian life. One of these may be discerned in Cockran's comment on the character of Jones' wife, following her death during childbirth. Cockran delivered his accolade by quoting a Roman Catholic settler as follows: "this must have been a good woman her voice has never been heard."<sup>21</sup>

Outside the family circle additional rules governed relations between individuals. Even the most minute aspects of social interaction were judged, as can be seen in the following statement by Cockran concerning the behavior of Indians: "they are not in the habit of waiting at the door till they have your permission to enter, ...."<sup>22</sup> Other more general rules were applicable at any time and in any situation. A very incomplete list was given by the Rev. W. Cockran in one of his sermons: "I... pressed the necessity of industry, economy, cleanliness, taste, good order and all other moral virtues which made the christian shine among a perverse generation."<sup>23</sup> While all of these rules were universal in

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<sup>21</sup>Cockran to the Secretaries, October 25, 1836, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>22</sup>Cockran, Journal, November 10, 1835, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>23</sup>Cockran to the Secretaries, August 8, 1836, I.C., C.M.S.A.





their application, the Evangelicals had different expectations of various individuals within society. The difference in expectation was apparently based on membership within a given social class.

In order to achieve their principal religious goal, the salvation of individual souls, the Evangelicals sought to achieve a reformation of behavior within the traditional framework of 19th century British society. Part of the success of the movement among the middle and upper classes sprang from acceptance of the existing class structure, as divinely ordained, and its opposition to the revolutionary doctrines of continental Europe, which sought a reformation of the social framework itself. An individual's membership in a particular social class carried with it God-given rights as well as responsibilities. Both rights and responsibilities increased as one ascended the social scale. The acceptance of these responsibilities and purposeful action to realize them were necessary aspects of salvation. Failure to do so would not necessarily lead to a loss of rights, but the individual would have to give an accounting of himself in the next world.

The criteria for determining membership in either the "higher orders" or the "lower orders" and the various gradients within each level was a general consensus based on an individual's birth, occupation, education, wealth, and behavior. In a letter to the Lay Secretary of the C.M.S., Cockran noted some of the criteria used to determine social class and the rights which devolved from that position:





The persons who form the Upper & Middle congregations have always been considered the most affluent, respectable and industrious part of our Community: and in justice to their merit, they have right to expect superior attention paid to their spiritual welfare;.

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... .

In another instance Smithurst conveyed similar views. While the missionary spoke of the "barbarous Indians" in this case, nothing suggests that these same views would not be expressed in respect to the "lower orders" of British society.

The barbarous Indian is not susceptible of those tender emotions nor does he possess those delicate feelings which characterize men in a high state of civilization....<sup>25</sup>

It now remains to examine Evangelical views in respect to the way of life of the "lower and higher" orders of British society. The Evangelical Anglican view of the normal way of life of the "lower orders" was at times an image of idyllic simplicity. In his journal Smithurst conveyed such a view in the following entry:

The Governor's son-in-law, Mr. Black and his lady paid me a visit this afternoon. As I had about 30 Indians at work reaping Mr. and Mrs. Black spent an hour in the fields looking at them; and quite enjoyed the busy scene.<sup>26</sup>

Farmers, craftsmen, and small shopkeepers were expected to adhere to the simple Christian rules governing religious observance and social behavior. In essence many of these

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<sup>24</sup>Cockran to the Lay Secretary, June 17, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>25</sup>Smithurst to the Secretaries, August 3, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>26</sup>Smithurst, Journal, August 17, 1847, I.C., C.M.S.A.





rules were simplifications of standards held by the "higher orders." Harmony within the family group was continually emphasized. In their daily labors the "lower orders" were reminded that "industry is the greatest friend Piety has on earth."<sup>27</sup> Middle Class concepts of law were stressed. On numerous occasions Cockran preached sermons which emphasized "the necessity of exercising justice and equity in their dealings with each other." The missionary then continued:

This was a very necessary Discourse for our Indians and Halfbreed brethren as they have always lived in common, have very loose notions of justice, and often make no difference between their neighbour's property and their own. Having shewed [sic] them that our religion required us to render unto all their due and owe no one anything, I concluded as usual with a hymn and prayer.<sup>28</sup>

In their relations with those whom God had set above them the "lower orders" were expected to render "feelings of due affection and respect...."<sup>29</sup> It appears that some expected more, as may be seen in the correspondence of Smithurst in respect to his Indian charges at St. Peter's:

I receive from the Indians implicit obedience which alone can enable me to lead them into civilized life and habits.<sup>30</sup>

On another occasion the same missionary further clarified his concept of the relationship between himself and his charges:

<sup>27</sup>Cockran to E. Bickersteth, August 3, 1829, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>28</sup>Cockran, Journal, December 30, 1828, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>29</sup>James to Venn, August 7, 1847, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>30</sup>Smithurst, Journal, February 25, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.





[The Indians] are ready to listen to any advise I give them, generally following my suggestions, so that I feel myself quite at home, finding it far less difficult to manage by blacks than I should if I had so many Europeans.<sup>31</sup>

But the gulf between those above and those below was almost insurmountable. The "lower orders", even after accepting and living by Evangelical religious and social standards, could not hope to associate with their brethren from the "higher orders" in this world.

Those who exercised leadership in a society, by virtue of their birth, occupation, wealth, education, and behavior, were the main targets of efforts by the missionaries to gain adherents for the movement. The "higher orders" were seen as the key to a successful reformation in behavior as "the example of superiors, is fast followed by inferiors. ..."<sup>32</sup> It was this group which established the moral tone of the nation and created the milieu in which the evangelizing of the population was furthered. The Evangelicals expected that the behavior of this group would be characterized by a serious frame of mind. Scientific inquiry and study were encouraged, while sport and other frivolous activities were

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<sup>31</sup>Smithurst to ?, ?, Manuscript Group 19, Section E 6, Volume II, P.A.C. This document appears to be a copy from Rupert's Land Archives, Manuscript Section 1101, Sundry Letters, 1839-40. The copy used had no date, place of origin or addressee.

<sup>32</sup>Cockran to Bickersteth, August 3, 1829, I.C., C.M.S.A.





discouraged.<sup>33</sup> In his journal Smithurst reported a gathering which would meet the approval of Evangelical readers:

Friday, Dec. 31st. [I] Had been invited by Mr. and Mrs. Black to meet at their house this afternoon the Governor and Mrs. Christie at dinner. I went up to the Lower Fort this afternoon for that purpose. The Governor prefers the good old customs of former days and dines early. The party was very select and I spent a very pleasant evening. Mrs. Black and Mrs. Christie have a great love for sacred music.... The intervals between the singing was [sic] filled up with profitable conversation and the evening was spent very much I believe to the satisfaction of all parties.... I got home at 9 o'clock.<sup>34</sup>

In respect to relationships between the "lower" and "higher orders" numerous examples have been cited which illustrate the paternalism of the dominant class. This same view was carried over into government.

The Evangelicals believed that governments had the

<sup>33</sup>Cockran, Journal, July 31, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A., mentions amateur experiments conducted by himself and the ship's officers. From the journals it appears that both Cowley and Smithurst conducted amateur experiments in respect to cereal and vegetable crops. A condemnation of frivolous behavior can be seen in Cockran to the Secretaries, August 4, 1836, I.C., C.M.S.A.: "Our unfortunate brother Jones seems to be so captivated by the world, as to have lost all the sacred halo that ought to adorn the Missionary character. Religion is never touched upon by him, except in the pulpit. His leisure time is spent in giving dinners and attending 'pic-nic' parties so that he has no time to pay me a visit....Cast your eyes upon a Clergyman who is totally a man of fashion and there you have a counterpart of our unfortunate brother...."

<sup>34</sup>Smithurst, Journal, December 31, 1842, I.C., C.M.S.A.





responsibilities both of restraining the wrongdoer and of promoting virtuous behavior. Thus they accepted the traditional restrictive role of government in the protection of society. West conveyed this view when discussing the problems of evangelizing and civilizing the population of the settlement:

In seeking to found a settlement in the heart of an Indian country, we want the arm of protection, Civil power, and a Code of Laws. Human nature will not be restrained to the organization of Society, without these essentials.<sup>35</sup>

Cockran revealed a similar view a few years later:

If then, where you have the iron chain of the law, the force of example, and the value of character, all combined to enforce your preaching, you find it difficult to keep the professed followers of Christ within the prescribed bounds of our holy religion; how much more difficult must it be with us, where men can gratify every sinful passion without having any odium attached to them, commit any crime with impunity, and where there are no examples to morality but the despised followers of the Gospel.<sup>36</sup>

Thus the Evangelicals saw that government could render a service by restricting behavior at odds with Evangelical standards. At the same time great importance was attached, first, to the Christian qualities of a government and, second, to the means by which it exercised its powers. The Anglican Bishop of Montreal noted these two aspects after his visit to the Red River Settlement in the summer of 1844:

Kindness united with firmness and decision appears to be the secret of governing mankind throughout

<sup>35</sup>West, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup>Cockran to the Secretaries, August 11, 1828, I.C., C.M.S.A.





the world, ill as it is understood in too large a portion of it. But where the spirit of Christian love and a conscientious adherence to principle prevail, there the qualities before-mentioned appear under a sanctified aspect and it is then that they effectually promote the happiness and well being of a community.<sup>37</sup>

The Evangelical movement had a positive view of government in the sense that it expected the British Government to take more than restrictive action in living up to its responsibilities. Just as individuals bore responsibility to God for the rights they enjoyed as members of society in general and of a specific class in particular, so nations bore a similar responsibility to the Deity for the rights and prestige that they enjoyed among other nations. Rev. D. Wilson expressed this view as follows:

The dawn of prophecy already breaks on our view, and invites us to new tracks of exertion, and new scenes of labour.... And whither can the fainting eye of human misery turn, but to this great Protestant Empire, which God appears to have aggrandized, at the present momentous period, with the design of employing her as the herald of mercy to mankind?<sup>38</sup>

Such a view also garnered support in non-Evangelical circles. In the following letter to Cockran from the Presbyterian leader in the Red River Settlement, Alexander Ross, a similar responsibility was placed on the British nation:

I have always been led to consider this an English Colony, with British laws and British subjects -- the country British throughout; but when we see popish priests sent into it year after year, and

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<sup>37</sup>Bishop of Montreal to Venn, December 16, 1844, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>38</sup>D. Wilson, A Defense of the Church Missionary Society (London: George Wilson, 1818), p. 33.





every year by our government, I must confess that what the Canadians say -- that the pope is the head of the settlement, and that our rulers are bona fide subjects of his holiness, looks more like the truth.<sup>39</sup>

The Bishop of Montreal gave a more precise statement on the same subject in a letter to Rev. H. Venn of the C.M.S.:

I am as much convinced that it is the duty of the English Government to plant and perpetuate the Church according to her full organization and to provide standing institutions for training a local body of clergy, in the distant dominions of the Empire, as that it is the duty of a father to see to the religious interests of his family....<sup>40</sup>

While the movement encouraged Christian action by the government, it saw this action in terms of cooperation with existing individual efforts and organizations rather than in terms of supplanting such efforts.

Though Evangelicals accepted the traditional view of the clergyman which saw him as both a minister of God and an important member of the "higher orders", they placed the emphasis on the former role rather than the latter. As a minister of God the clergyman was expected to shepherd his flock both by precept and example. Thus after a disastrous fire which destroyed their barn and stables, it was said of Cockran and his wife that they took "precisely the view of their late misfortune which all who knew them must have anticipated, namely are thankful for what remains, and give up what is lost without a murmur."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Alexander Ross to Cockran, March 17, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>40</sup>Bishop of Montreal to Venn, December 16, 1844, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>41</sup>Smithurst, Journal, May 28, 1844, I.C., C.M.S.A.





In addition to exemplary behavior the clergy were expected to exhort and to advise their flocks, no matter their social position, on Christian living. In the following passage the Bishop of Montreal in 1844 conveyed an idealized view of this role and the relationship between the clergy and the parishoners in the Settlement:

They [candidates for confirmation] are so constantly under the training and followed by the anxious and watchful eye of the Shepherds set over them that the amount of their religious proficiency as well as the tenor of their ordinary deportments was perfectly well known beforehand --in fact the Clergy know them as a father knows his children and they know whom to admit and whom to debar, while other cases hang in the balance and were decided after being made the subject of consideration --perhaps of some necessary allowance with some particular charge and the exaction of some particular promises. I had here an opportunity of seeing the great influence of the Clergy and the willing acquiescence of the people proceeding not from any artfully acquired authority or determined establishment of an imperious ascendancy, but, as I truly believe from the faithful devotedness of the men employed in the mission, the concern which they have manifested for the souls of those committed to them, the power of those holy truths which they have pressed upon the acceptance of sinful man, and the general benefits also which in the most conspicuous manner, have followed from the formation of the mission in the Colony.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to their role as "spiritual shepherds" the clergy also functioned as an integral part of the "higher orders" in British society and thus lent their support to its interests. During the fur trade competition of the 1840's in the Red River Settlement Rev. A. Cowley recorded the following observation in his journal:

Feb. 14, 1846 .... The opposition seems to grow warmer I conceive it my indispensable duty and even a privilege to obey and support the powers that be and to set my face against every lawless proceeding.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Bishop of Montreal to Venn, December 2, 1844, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>43</sup>Cowley, Journal, February 14, 1846, I.C., C.M.S.A.





While lending their support to the "respectable" classes it was also expected that the clergy would move comfortably in these circles. A failure to be able to do so limited a clergyman's usefulness. In a letter to the Secretaries of the C.M.S. Cockran noted this problem:

Moreover, Mr. Cowley's talents are not of that quality as to adapt him for the Red River. The wants of the Church here would require a person who has read more extensively and more inclined to study.<sup>44</sup>

It would appear that the Evangelicals were happiest when the interests of the clergy as "spiritual shepherds" and as members of the "higher orders" coincided. Jones conveyed a sense of satisfaction in his journal in a situation which required action both as a minister of God and as a leader in society. After the clergyman delivered a sermon attacking the practise of selling beer to the Indians "several of the most influential persons at the settlement called on me to day to converse on the subject alluded to above; when it was agreed that Messrs. S. & R. with myself, should wait on the Governor's deputy in the course of tomorrow."<sup>45</sup> However, in cases where the two interests of the clergyman clashed, he was expected to act as a minister of God. While advising members of the "higher orders" on Christian living, it was expected that the clergyman would be discreet. On the other hand, when dealing with a member of the "lower orders",

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<sup>44</sup>Cockran to the Secretary, July 30, 1845, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>45</sup>Jones, Journal, September 1, 1835, I.C., C.M.S.A.





Cockran found it necessary "to dip my shafts in the brimstone lake and send them with full force into his ungodly life of three score years and five."<sup>46</sup>

Evangelical values were applicable to all individuals and institutions and for all occasions. They provided goals, and the means of attaining them, for mankind. Evangelical values constituted a program for a new way of life -- new, not in the sense that it marked a major departure from British institutions and traditions of the day, but new in the sense that it revitalized these institutions and traditions, enabling them to serve the economic and social needs of an industrial age. To the Evangelical his values were inherent in the British nation. Various manifestations of non-Evangelical views and behavior were surface blemishes which would be removed by a religious and moral reformation. But for Rupert's Land Evangelicalism was a new and different way of life. British civilization had reached the region in the institutions of the fur trade. Basically concerned with the economic exploitation of the region, its impact on the indigeneous society was disruptive. With the arrival of the Anglican clergy deliberate steps were taken to create a new society. Since the missionaries were not fleeing a corrupt and decadent Europe, their mission was to establish a copy of what they had left behind. Britain and things British were the ideal. The clergy carried Evangelical values to Rupert's Land with the purpose of creating a society which was to be Christian and civilized or, perhaps more accurately, Evangelical and British.

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<sup>46</sup>Cockran, Journal, April 26, 1840, I.C., C.M.S.A.





## 2. THE GOAL

Evangelical Christianity and British civilization together constituted the goal of the Anglican missionaries in Rupert's Land. Two important aspects of the pursuit of this goal were the sense of immediacy with which the missionaries viewed the attainment of the goal and their desire to encompass all of Rupert's Land --not just the Settlement -- in their missionary activities. These attitudes were of greater significance in the early years than the goal itself. They were particularly evident in the actions and thoughts of the first missionary, West.

The sense of immediacy was manifested in the boundless energy which West displayed in fulfilling his various tasks. Numerous items, from the construction of a mission building to missionary trips into the hinterland, occupied his time. His published journal revealed his thoughts about the importance of his work and the need for haste in accomplishing his goal:

What can calm these ferocious feelings [of the Indians], and curb this savage fury of the passions in the torturous destruction of defenceless women and sucking infants? What, but the introduction and influence of Christianity, the best civilizer of the wandering natives of these dreary wilds, and the most probable means of fixing them in the pursuit of agriculture, and of those social advantages and privileges to which they are at present strangers.<sup>47</sup>

With such an attitude one could question West's flexibility and his ability to react realistically to the changing circumstances in his new surroundings.

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<sup>47</sup>West, p. 90.





In addition to the sense of immediacy with which he viewed the mission's goal, West also saw the goal, not in terms of the Settlement, but in terms of Rupert's Land. From the beginning Rupert's Land held the attention of his thoughts and actions. This can be seen in his efforts to establish an Indian residential school as the hub of his mission:

I considered that I bore a pledge from the Indian that many more children might be found, if an establishment were formed in British Christian sympathy, and British liberality for their education and support.

I had to establish the principle, that the North American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion.<sup>48</sup>

This orientation of interest towards Rupert's Land coupled with the sense of immediacy had special significance for the inhabitants of the Settlement.

To West the mission in the Settlement was the initial step in the missionary conquest of Rupert's Land. "The Red River" he wrote, "appears to me, a most desirable spot for a Missionary establishment, and the formation of schools; from whence Christianity may arise, and be propagated among the numerous tribes of the north."<sup>49</sup> In this viewpoint West was supported by his co-sponsors, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society.<sup>50</sup> The Society particularly

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>50</sup>Pratt to West, February 13, 1821, O.C., C.M.S.A., Ibid., March 8, 1822. Both documents state the particular interest of the Church Missionary Society. B. Harrison to West, February 26, 1822, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A., P.A.C. This document reveals the enthusiasm of some of the directors for a major missionary effort into the interior of Rupert's Land.





placed emphasis on the evangelization of the Indian thus reinforcing West's concern for Rupert's Land. While the people of the Settlement were important to him in his capacity as chaplain, they could not hope to enjoy a position of more than secondary importance. This fact suggested problems in the future. If resources and other circumstances did not permit a major missionary effort in the interior, the clergy would be physically confined to the Settlement. Yet their own goal placed the Settlement in a position of secondary importance. Under these circumstances could the mission be successful?





### CHAPTER III

#### THE CO-SPONSORS AND THE COMPETITION

One of the most important features of the activities of the Anglican clergy in the Red River Settlement was their relationship with three other groups who had a particular interest in the clergy's work. The interested parties were the clergy's co-sponsors, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, and their potential competitors, the Roman Catholic missionaries from Lower Canada. The success or failure of the clergy depended, in part, on the support of the sponsors as well as on the harmony of the relationship between the sponsors and themselves. Also the relationship between the C.M.S. and the Company was of importance to the success of their work. The Roman Catholic missionaries were a different matter. Arriving in 1818, the potential missionary field of Rupert's Land belonged to them until West's appearance in 1820. On his arrival the major problem between the two communions became one of dividing the mission field into respective spheres of activity. A collision between the two missionary camps could have resulted in irreparable damage in a society as chaotic and unstable as the Settlement. The failure of the Anglican





clergy to establish workable relationships with any or all of these interested parties could nullify any success that they achieved in their day-to-day activities.

#### 1. THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The success of the Anglican missionaries in later years depended in part upon the administrative decisions and policies made by the directors of the Church Missionary Society during the foundation years. It was important that the Society, as the major sponsor of the clergy and the one to whom they looked for leadership, should play its role in determining realistic goals, limits, and degrees of control for the activities of the missionaries. In addition, the morale of the clergy could not be ignored. Policy decisions would be to no avail if the directors failed to take cognizance of the morale of their representatives in the Settlement. A successfully functioning relationship between the directors and the clergy would greatly assist the latter in their missionary efforts in Rupert's Land.

The most important decisions reached by the directors of the C.M.S. affected both the goal of the clergy and the limits on their various activities. As a missionary society the C.M.S. had selected as its particular interest the evangelization of the pagan peoples of the world. In Rupert's Land this was the Indian. Since the Hudson's Bay Company also acted as a sponsor and since their interests involved not only the Indians but their personnel at the various posts and the other inhabitants, the Society's task





in Rupert's Land was made more complicated.<sup>1</sup> Initially neither the Society nor the Company saw any problems with respect to the missionaries' goal and their roles as missionaries to the Indians and as chaplains to the other inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The realities of life in Rupert's Land did not support this assumption.

Soon after his arrival at York Factory West saw that the circumstances of the half-breeds differed little from that of the Indian. Most were more conversant in the Cree tongue of their mothers than the English language of their fathers.<sup>3</sup> Many did not possess the necessary skills to function as laborers in the fur trade or hunters on the plains or in the forests.<sup>4</sup> West saw that a missionary effort in Rupert's Land had to involve this numerous segment of the population as well as the Indians. His published journal recorded his observations:

Observing a number of half breed children running about, growing up in ignorance and idleness; and being informed that they were a numerous offspring of Europeans by Indian women, and found at all the Company's Posts; I drew up a plan, which I submitted to the Governor, for collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained, clothed, and educated upon a regularly organized system. It was transmitted by him to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>West, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Harrison to West, February 26, 1822, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.

<sup>3</sup>West, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856), p. 84.

<sup>5</sup>West, p. 12.





Apparently, the plan was communicated to the directors of the C.M.S. as well. In a letter to West in March, 1822, they took pains to indicate that the Society's interests were limited to the Indian. However, they did indicate that they were willing to see West's efforts in terms of a long-range program rather than in terms of the near future:

You will particularly have in mind, that the sole [?] object of the Society, in the formation of this mission is to impart the blessings of the gospel to the native Indians and their children of entire [?] blood.... Your own labours, ... will, indeed, be bestowed, for the present, both on the Indians, and on the Europeans and those of mixed blood. This arises, in part, from the circumstances that your stipend is derived jointly [sic] from the Company and from the Society, which, of course, gives the Company a right to expect that a proportionate share of your ministerial services should be appropriated to their servants, and partly from the consideration that, in the present state of the Colony and of the native Indians your whole time could not be so beneficially occupied on the Indians alone.<sup>6</sup>

The principal effect of the letter was to establish more realistic goals for the clergy in Rupert's Land. Although West apparently chose to ignore it, the directors saw their particular interest in terms of long-range goals. Considering circumstances in the Settlement, this proved to be a sound decision. However, by maintaining the artificial separation between the half-breeds and the Indians the directors of the C.M.S. placed both West and his successor, Jones, in an impossible situation. Emotionally

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<sup>6</sup>Pratt to West, March 8, 1822, O.C., C.M.S.A.





these men were tied to the Society. It was the Society which contributed the bulk of their financial support and spiritually revitalized them in the non-Evangelical environment of the Settlement. Thus it was natural that the missionaries should see the Society's particular interest, the Indian, as their major concern. By viewing their own interests as a long term project, the directors of the C.M.S. permitted the clergy to devote their attention to the immediate problems, in the Settlement. But these problems, in terms of the missionaries' goal, were of secondary importance.

Jones, who arrived at York Factory in the summer of 1823 as West was departing, experienced frustration as a result of the directors' decision. This frustration was conveyed in an entry in his journal for January 14, 1824:

As a Company's Chaplain I occupy a very important, and prospectively useful sphere of action, but as I am now, I may be here twenty years and be able to do hardly anything as a Missionary to the Indians, for I never see any of them excepting now and then...?<sup>7</sup>

A month earlier in the same journal Jones suggested a viewpoint which would enable the Society to relax the artificial limits that their previous decision had imposed on the clergy when they were acting as missionaries for the C.M.S.:

Should God make the Half-Breeds subjects of grace they are the Missionaries for this country; they are initiated into the habits of the Indian and are consequently more able to expose them, - they speak the language; - and can<sup>8</sup> bear all the hardships that the Indian himself can.

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<sup>7</sup>Jones, Journal, January 14, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., December 11, 1823.





By 1826 the directors of the C.M.S. appeared to have accepted this view. A distinction between the Indian and the half-breed still existed, but it was never emphasized as it had been. The directors' change of attitude was reflected in a reply to a letter from Jones in which he stated that he might serve the interests of the Society better on the Pacific coast. The directors wrote:

The footing which you have gained at your present station renders it very undesirable that you should quit it, .... The ties which bind a missionary to his people are of a nature not to be lightly broken, and the influence which his residence at any particular spot may have given him is not needlessly to be relinquished.<sup>9</sup>

The significance of the change reflected in the letter to Jones from the directors of the C.M.S. was that the missionaries could focus their attention on their problems in the Settlement. In their letter to West in March 1822, the directors indicated that they had reappraised the mission's timetable. They had abandoned the idea of a major missionary effort in Rupert's Land in the immediate future. However, the directors' precise statement that the Indian was still their "sole interest" had the effect of retaining Rupert's Land as the focal point of the clergy's aspirations. The missionaries were able to shift the focus of their attention and their goals to the Settlement only when the directors saw the clergy's efforts there as an integral part of Christianity and civilization in Rupert's Land.

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<sup>9</sup>Coates to Jones, February 24, 1826, O.C., C.M.S.A.





The question of control and supervision of the clergy in the field was another problem which challenged the administrative ability of the directors of the C.M.S.. As communication between London and the Settlement was limited to the Company's annual supply ship to York Factory, the directors had to rely on the ability of the missionaries themselves. Although all the correspondence between the directors and West is not available, it would appear that the directors exerted little control or supervision. Letters from the directors to West clarified basic policy decisions but did not deal with the detailed operation of the mission.

In all likelihood the termination of West's association with the Company, as chaplain by the directors of the Company, led the C.M.S. to reconsider its policies with respect to control and supervision of the clergy. Realizing that missionary work in Rupert's Land was impossible without the cooperation of the Company, the Society could not afford to let a similar situation arise. The question of control and supervision was underlined when West proposed to publish extracts from his journal following his dismissal. In August, 1824, the Lay Secretary of the Society addressed West as follows:

You know on which footing the ? ? our N. W. America mission, and how dependent we are on the Hudson's Bay Company in carrying on our operations there. These circumstances render it necessary for the committee to be cautious in sanctioning publication, which might add to the difficulties with which they have already to contend. You would probably feel no objection to submit your M.S.S. to the inspection of the Committee, which would enable them to form a judgement on the consequences likely





to ensue from the publication of the work. You will perhaps allow me also to bring under your consideration, the way in which the publication of your journal ? affect the exertions of those friends among the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, who aid our objects.<sup>10</sup>

In November, 1824, the C.M.S. acknowledged the receipt of West's manuscript. Unfortunately the rest of the letter is illegible.<sup>11</sup> A comparison of some of the original entries contained in West's correspondence to the society with the published work indicates that several incidents of a damaging nature to the Company were not included in the finished product.<sup>12</sup> However, it is likely that neither the Society nor the Company were pleased with West's Substance of a Journal.

Following these events, the directors of the Society sought to exert greater control and supervision over the clergy. The clergy were encouraged to write more extensive reports concerning all aspects of their work. Journals were emphasized, possibly as a means of gaining a broader perspective on the problems facing the men in the field.<sup>13</sup> The directors did not hesitate to criticize actions and attitudes which they considered to be harmful.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Coates to West, August 27, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>11</sup> ? to West, November 9, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>12</sup>West, Journal, October 5, 1822, I.C., C.M.S.A.. This entry in the files of the Church Missionary Society records the flogging of a Saulteaux Indian on the orders of the Governor of the Colony, after the Indian had struck the Governor while in a drunken stupor. No reference is made to this incident and others of a similar nature in West's Substance of a Journal.

<sup>13</sup>Bickersteth to Jones and Cockran, June 1, 1826. O.C., C.M.S.A.. is an excellent example of the added direction given by the directors of the C.M.S.

<sup>14</sup>Pratt to Jones, May 27, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.





However, increased control and supervision did not destroy the clergy's initiative. If anything, the increased supervision strengthened the clergy by providing clear guidelines for their actions. The noticeable improvement in the attitude of Jones, West's successor, probably indicates this state of affairs as much as it indicates the mission's progress.<sup>15</sup>

An important factor contributing to the excellent relationship established between the directors of the C.M.S. and the missionaries was the support extended to the missionaries by the Society. Although an occasional problem occurred with respect to financial support,<sup>16</sup> a more fundamental problem was the morale of the clergy. The administrative decisions of the directors of the C.M.S. served to clarify the clergy's roles and goals and thus improved their morale. However, this was not enough. An entry in Jones' journal for November 7, 1823, illustrated the sense of isolation, loneliness, and failure which was a part of the missionary's life:

My greatest trial now will be the want of social intercourse,.... It is very natural for a person when coming from the Lecture Room of a College or the study of a Private Tutor, to a country inhabited by a barbarous and ignorant race of beings to expect to be looked up to with admiration and applause on account of his superior qualifications of mind; but a short residence in the land<sup>17</sup> of Pagans will convince him of the contrary,....

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<sup>15</sup>Jones to Pratt, August 31, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>16</sup>Coates to Jones, March 11, 1825, O.C., C.M.S.A., It would appear that Jones and Cockran had between 400 and 500 pound sterling at their disposal on a yearly basis. These figures did not include their salaries. Approximately one-third to one-half of this amount came from the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>17</sup>Jones, Journal, November 7, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





The Secretary of the C.M.S. paid particular attention to the problem of morale. Requests by the missionaries for various items of a personal nature were filled with dispatch. If, for any reason, an error had occurred or the article proved to be unobtainable a letter offered an apology or a full explanation.<sup>18</sup> Among the various items books of a religious nature were prominent. Religious periodicals and newspapers, as well as non-religious books, were secured. Clothing was another item frequently requested by the missionaries.<sup>19</sup> A personal letter from the Secretary was usually included. These letters established a very warm and personal bond with the missionaries, particularly when Rev. Josiah Pratt occupied the position of Secretary.<sup>20</sup> Evangelical truisms with supporting Biblical texts constituted the bulk of the correspondence. On occasion a discussion of some religious publication would connect the correspondence of two or three years duration.<sup>21</sup> When the directors found it necessary to admonish one of the missionaries, it was done with tact and delicacy. This was evident in the letter from Pratt to Jones in March, 1824, after the correspondence of the young missionary reflected attitudes similar to those responsible for West's downfall:

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<sup>18</sup>Bickersteth to Jones, February ? , 1826, O.C., C.M.S.A., is an excellent example of this type of correspondence.

<sup>19</sup>Bickersteth to Jones and Cockran, June 1, 1826, O.C., C.M.S.A., is an excellent example.

<sup>20</sup>Pratt to Jones, March 10, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.





In all our Colonies we find that a strong spirit of party prevails; and the evils of this are generally, I apprehend, inversely in proportion to the extent of the community. Be particularly cautious not at all to mix yourself with anything of this kind, which may exist in the society around you. You will find this difficult but it is necessary: so necessary that to fail on this point, would be to endanger all your plans and prospects of usefulness.

In the same letter Pratt also advised:

A firm adherence to principle, combined with urbanity, humility, kindness, and a uniform spirit of conciliation<sup>22</sup> will go very far, ... to gain the esteem of all....

By 1826 the improved morale of the clergy was as much a reflection of the Society's support as it was a reflection of their progress.

The relationship between the C.M.S. and the missionaries could be likened to that between a leader and a disciple. The clergy looked to the Society not only for direction and financial support but for spiritual sustenance as well. The administrative decisions of the directors with reference to goals and limits on activities represented realistic adjustments to the environment. These decisions, coupled with their supervision and support, strengthened the missionaries, enabling them to concentrate on their day-to-day tasks.

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.





## 2. THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Nearly all aspects of life in the Red River Settlement were dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company. Communication with the homeland and provision of European luxuries and necessities depended upon their transportation system. The Company gave the Settlement its economic raison d'être, determined its social organization, and provided its form of government. Thus the fortunes of the Anglican missionaries were intimately involved in the affairs of the Company. In addition, the Company acted as one of the sponsors of the Anglican clergy. The relationship between the missionaries and the Company almost ended in disaster in 1824 when the directors found it necessary to terminate West's association with them. In order to examine this central event, it is necessary to determine the directors' motives in sponsoring the clergy, their expectations with respect to the clergy and the problems faced by the Company in the Settlement during these years. Lastly, it is necessary to examine the relationship which evolved between the Company and the clergy after 1824.

Two principal motives emerge to explain the Company's support of the Anglican clergy in Rupert's Land and its invitation to the C.M.S. to aid and direct the missionary effort among the Indians. The first motive was the sincere Evangelical outlook of leading men on the Company's Governing Committee, notably Benjamin Harrison, but including Nicholas Garry and Alexander Colville. It was Harrison, a staunch





Evangelical and a lesser light in the Clapham sect, who approached the C.M.S. in 1815, requesting them to direct missionary activity in the Company's territories.<sup>23</sup> Possibly other commitments prevented the Society from accepting the offer, for nothing was accomplished until 1819. In that year the Company appointed West as a chaplain and missionary to Rupert's Land. Evidence suggests that the C.M.S. was not formally connected with West until a year after his arrival in the Settlement.<sup>24</sup> Harrison continued to play an important role during the first years. Not only did he personally assist West financially, but he found the time to correspond with him, tendering his support and offering advice.<sup>25</sup> However, after 1823 his presence was no longer as noticeable. In spite of the unfortunate circumstances surrounding West's dismissal, the directors continued to manifest an interest in the clergy's activities indicating again their Evangelical concern.

Besides the religious interests of the directors the missionaries also served the business interests of the Company. At a time when business monopolies were under attack, the Company sought to improve its public image by stressing the benefits which accrued from its monopolistic

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<sup>23</sup>A. S. Morton, History of the Canadian West to 1870 (London: Nelson, 1939), p. 631.

<sup>24</sup>Pratt to West, February 13, 1821, O.C., C.M.S.A., is the first letter to West in the files of the C.M.S. In the letter reference is made to communications from West June 22 and August 31, 1820 [?].

<sup>25</sup>Harrison to West, February 26 and March 27, 1822, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.





control of the fur trade. This viewpoint was stressed in 1824 in a letter from the Governor and Committee to Governor George Simpson:

Unless every reasonable encouragement and facility is afforded to the humane endeavours of the Church Missionary Society towards the civilization of the native Indians in the neighbourhood, with which object that Society is willing to connect Schools for the half breed and other children of the Company's retired servants who are located there, great and well merited odium will be excited in this country against the Company, which will probably produce very injurious effects both as respects the rights and pecuniary interests of the Company. All Monopolies are extremely unpopular at this time, and it is for the interest of all concerned that no just ground should be afforded for an attack upon the Company.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to improving the Company's public image, the clergy also served the business interests of the Company in another area.

In the spring of 1820 West landed at York Fort as chaplain to the Hudson Bay Company. His particular purpose was "to seek the instruction, and endeavour to meliorate the condition of the native Indians." Shortly after his arrival West became aware of a further field for his missionar labors. After witnessing the life led by many of the half-breeds about the trading posts, West formulated a plan for the education of the children, similar to his plans for educating the Indian youths.<sup>28</sup> The directors of the Company

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<sup>26</sup>Governor and Committee to G. Simpson, March 12, 1824, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.

<sup>27</sup>West, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 12.





possibly took cognizance of West's plan when formulating their own policies for a reorganization of the fur trade. The conclusion of the fur trade competition with the North West Company in 1821 provided the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company with an opportunity to reorganize the fur trade with a view to cutting expenses. Besides the large inventory of trade goods and unsold furs the largest single expense facing the Company was the provisioning of personnel at the various posts. During the period of the fur trade competition the various posts were over-staffed with over-paid and often incompetent officers and men. In addition, the native families of both officers and men constituted an additional burden.<sup>29</sup> It was proposed that the superfluous population, both white and half-breed, be collected at one central location, the Red River Settlement, where they could be effectively controlled and, perhaps in time, become an asset to the trade as a source of labor and purveyors of provisions. Possibly as a result of West's plan the clergy were to play a key role as part of the means of control. In 1822 a letter from the Governor and Committee advised Simpson as follows:

It is both dangerous and expensive to support a numerous population of this description [half-breeds] in an uneducated and savage condition, and it would be impolitic and inexpedient to encourage and allow them to collect together in different parts of the

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<sup>29</sup>Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 27, 1822, extract from this letter quoted in Simpson's Athabaska Journal, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1938), p. 32.





country, where they could not be under any proper superintendence. The Establishment of Clergymen and Schools at the Red River Settlement where means of religious instruction and education will be afforded them and where they will be under a regular police and Government by the establishment of Magistrates under the act passed last session of Parliament points out the proper mode of disposing of this numerous class of persons.<sup>30</sup>

Thus the Company saw the Anglican clergy not only as proselytizers of a faith to which many of the directors had a sincere attachment but as an asset to the fur trade in the traditional services they could provide for the Protestant residents of the Settlement. No better public image of the Company could be created than the clergy's success in this field of endeavor.

As West's dismissal by the Governing Committee of the Company arose out of his clash with the Company's officers in Rupert's Land, it is necessary to view the circumstances from the directors' viewpoint. The end of competition with the North West Company in 1821 did not end the threat to the Company's monopoly. During the battle of the giants, individuals, known as "freemen", had seized the opportunity to establish an illicit trade in furs. Many residents of the Red River Settlement, which at this time was governed by the executors of Lord Selkirk's estate and not directly by the Company, were actively engaged in this trade.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 8, 1822, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.

<sup>31</sup>Simpson, Correspondence Books, Outward, General, 1821 to 1826, Series D4/1 to D4/10, H.B.C.A., give numerous examples of the involvement in the illicit fur trade of various prominent individuals.





The directors feared that these "freemen" would seek a market to the south and establish connections with American traders. A letter from one of the Company's directors to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec in 1822 expressed this fear:

Your Lordship is aware that Pembina is to the south of the 49th degree of north latitude, and therefore, by the late treaty, within the jurisdiction and law of the United States. As, however, that portion of the country is certainly at present beyond the reach of american laws, and now taken out of the controul [sic] of the British law, it would probably become in time a nest of outlaws, to which persons of the worst description might repair, and evade the reach of justice.<sup>32</sup>

This was by no means the sole problem facing the directors. Other problems such as the relationship between the directors and the former wintering partners of the North West Company occupied their attention.<sup>33</sup> However, the illicit fur trade constituted the greatest threat to the Company's position.

Considering the problems of the illicit fur trade and the Company's motives in dispatching a chaplain to Rupert's Land, it was only natural that the directors held expectations, other than those of a religious nature, with respect to West's views and activities. The traditional European social concept of the clergy saw them as members

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<sup>32</sup>Halkett to Bishop Plessis, March 15, 1822, as quoted in Documents Relating to the North West Missions 1815-27, ed. G. L. Nute (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942), p. 339.

<sup>33</sup>Simpson to A. Colville, September 8, 1823, as quoted in Simpson's Athabaska Journal, ed. E. E. Rich, p. 63.





of the ruling class, cooperating with others in exercising their responsibilities of social leadership. The Company's plans for the reorganization of the fur trade allotted West such a position in the Red River Settlement. Moreover, the directors probably expected that the Company's chaplain, West, would reflect some degree of corporate loyalty. If his position as a clergyman made it impossible for him to fully support Company policies, the directors could expect that he would act with discretion. West's Report to the Governor and Committee after his return to England in 1823 did not fulfill either of these expectations.

It appears that West's Report constituted the reason for his dismissal. The Report focussed on the progress of his mission to that time and the harmful effect of the behavior of the Europeans in general and the Company's officers in particular. It ended with a call for a change.<sup>34</sup> The Report revealed a complete lack of awareness of the problems facing the Company. Instead of cooperating with the officers West was antagonistic. Instead of attempting to understand the plight of the directors and officers, he indicated a lack of interest - perhaps, in the minds of some of the directors, even disloyalty. If a personal confrontation did occur between West and the directors, it is unlikely that the directors changed their view. A man of West's temper-

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<sup>34</sup>West, Report to the Honourable Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, December 3, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





ment could not have moderated what he believed to be an honest analysis of the problems facing the Anglican mission in Rupert's Land. The suggestion that West's association with the Company was terminated by his failure to fulfill the non-religious expectations of the directors is borne out by a copy of a letter, contained in the C.M.S. documents, sent by Simpson, the Governor of the Northern Department, to Harrison in March, 1825:

If they [the clergy] lay themselves out to improve the morals of our people, it ought to be done with judgement and caution. They should understand, that according to the custom of the Country, many Gentlemen and Servants have families, although the ordinance of Marriage is unknown on this side of the Mountains [west of the Rocky Mountains], and that Pulpit denunciation alone will not correct the evil. Zeal without judgement on this subject, had formerly given rise to difficulties on the other side of the Mountain, and if the same error was fallen on this side I apprehend it would be attended with the same result.<sup>35</sup>

Although this letter was dated more than a year after West's dismissal, it did reflect an attitude which the directors obviously wished to place before the C.M.S.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that the directors based their decision to terminate West's employment on additional reports such as correspondence from Rupert's Land and the reports of directors Garry and Halkett, who visited the Settlement at this time. However, no documentary evidence exists to support this contention.

<sup>35</sup>Simpson to Harrison, March 10, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>36</sup>A comparison of the letter from Simpson to Harrison, March 10, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A., with what appears to be the original in the Hudson's Bay Company files, Simpson to Harrison, March 10, 1825, Series D4/5, H.B.C.A., reveals noteworthy discrepancies. If the letter in the C.M.S. files represents conscious tampering by an official of the Company it illustrates, not only the Company's wish to prevent evi-





Simpson's condemnation of West is dated more than six months after the missionary's dismissal.<sup>37</sup> It appears that West's report furnished the sole reason for the director's actions.

West's dismissal placed the relationship between the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in jeopardy, as well as threatening the future of the Anglican missionary effort in Rupert's Land. West himself did not appear to comprehend fully the circumstances. In January, 1824, the Secretary of the Company, William Smith addressed West as follows:

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dence supporting West's position from reaching the Society, but the Company's wish to defame West and at the same time maintain their relationship with the C.M.S., The letter in the Company documents states:

"In the event of Missionaries being sent out to this coast they should in my opinion be directed to put themselves in a certain degree under the control and protection of the Company's representatives in this country and informed that they are to have no interference with the people of our Establishments except with the full consent and approbation of the Gentleman in charge as the contrary might lead to misunderstanding and dissensions which would be equally injurious to both and if they lay themselves out to improve the morals of our people it ought to be done with delicacy and caution. - They should understand that according to the custom of the country many Gentlemen and servants have Families altho [sic] the ordinance of marriage is unknown among us and that Pulpit denunciation will not correct the evil as in the first place matrimony is not encouraged in the service and in the next place if encouraged it would be a different matter for men to find Partners who they would be induced to bind themselves to for life among our savage neighbours. An over zeal or a want of delicacy on this subject tended to make Mr. West extremely unpopular on the other side of the mountain...."

<sup>37</sup>Simpson to Harrison, August ? , 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.





... it is not expedient that you should resume your situation as Chaplain to the Company--...<sup>38</sup>

Two weeks later Smith addressed another letter to West, apparently in response to a letter from West, stating that the directors "do not think it would be proper to introduce the words 'at present' as you have requested..."<sup>39</sup>

The correspondence of the C.M.S. is strangely devoid of remarks in reference to West's dismissal.<sup>40</sup> However, the directors of both the C.M.S. and the Company exhibited an awareness of the delicate nature of the situation. The Company wished that the C.M.S. would continue their missionary activities in Rupert's Land. Their motives had not changed.<sup>41</sup> The Society was aware that a successful missionary effort was impossible without the cooperation of the Company.<sup>42</sup> Although no evidence exists proving communication between the two groups of directors, the similar courses of action taken by each party suggest cooperation. Both organizations cautioned their respective personnel in Rupert's Land concerning the consequences should a similar situation arise in the future.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup>W. Smith to West, January 29, 1824, Series A5/7, H.B.C.A.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., February 11, 1824.

<sup>40</sup>Pratt to Jones, March 10, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A., notes simply that West would not return to the Settlement.

<sup>41</sup>Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 12, 1824, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.

<sup>42</sup>Coates to West, August 27, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>43</sup>Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 12, 1824, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A., and Pratt to Jones, March 10, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.





A more distant but stable relationship between the missionaries and the directors of the Company developed as a result of the West affair. The directors continued to sponsor a chaplain and to maintain non-religious expectations with respect to the clergy. When the young missionary Jones, sought to resign from the Council of Assiniboia because of the problems his membership was creating for his ministry, the Governor of the Northern Department, Simpson, rejected the idea, largely on the grounds of his social responsibilities.<sup>44</sup> However, following West's dismissal, the Anglican missionaries enjoyed greater independence of action. This did not arise from the fact that the directors had attempted to restrict the clergy's freedom. Greater independence illustrated that the directors of the Company no longer initiated action directly involving the clergy. After 1823 the missionaries assumed greater responsibility for their own success or failure. The Company remained prepared to assist them, but the missionaries had to take the initiative by approaching the Company. The relationship was more distant—Harrison no longer sent letters to the clergymen in the Settlement. At the same time the relationship proved to be more stable. Each party knew what to expect from the other.

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<sup>44</sup>Jones, Journal, January 1, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.





### 3. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

When West arrived in the Settlement in the autumn of 1820, he found a Roman Catholic mission from Lower Canada. The problems faced by West and his successors were similar to those faced by the Roman Catholic priests. This suggested a sense of common interest. However, common interest was outweighed by the traditional prejudices of each missionary group. Prejudice in turn created a sense of competition. A variety of circumstances served to prevent a collision between the missionaries. However, when a collision did occur, it was imperative that neither side should make the event a public issue. In essence the problem between the missionaries was one of achieving an understanding as to the limits of each other's activities. Failure in this respect would greatly complicate the missionary efforts of both churches.

In spite of the doctrinal differences and the varying emphasis which each church placed on the social behavior that a religious person should reflect, the missionaries were agreed on the two basic ills of the Settlement. For both clergy the twin evils were drunkenness and the loose nature of family relationships resulting from marriage au facon du nord. It appears that each recognized their common interest in this problem. Father Destroismaison expressed this view in 1821 in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec:

The Anglican minister who came here last autumn is going to a good deal of trouble to bring his flock back to the fold. Unfortunately, he finds them far





astray. He is troubled, and even more are we, to see the amount of drunkenness and many other disorders even in spite of the scarcity<sup>45</sup> and exorbitant cost of intoxicating liquors.

This sense of common interest did lead to cooperation.

However, this cooperation would appear to have been minimal.<sup>46</sup>

Three factors emerge to explain the limited cooperation between the two missionary groups. The first factor was language. Neither the Anglicans nor the Roman Catholic missionaries were conversant with the other's language. Thus on personal contact they were limited to an exchange of pleasantries.<sup>47</sup> A second factor was the settlement patterns of the English-speaking Protestants and the French-speaking Roman Catholic inhabitants. The English-speaking communities were found to the north of the fork of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, while the French-speaking elements lived to the south and west of the same fork. Thus neither clergy

<sup>45</sup>Father Destroismaisons to Bishop Plessis, January 3, 1821 as quoted in Documents Relating to the North West Missions, 1815-27, Ed. G. L. Nute, p. 282.

<sup>46</sup>The evidence from the primary sources used offers only these incidents of what might be termed cooperation in specific undertakings. Other instances may have occurred; however, the paucity of evidence suggests that cooperation was not extensive. The three instances of cooperation are as follows:

Father Provencher to Bishop Plessis, June 1, 1824, Documents . . . , ed. G. L. Nute, p. 416, suggests that the clergy cooperated in winning Council approval for yearly tithes <sup>10</sup> on the same basis as in Canada." Rev. D. T. Jones, Journal, September 7, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.: "Had a message from the Catholic Bishop asking if I would admit of Catholic Children as day-scholars in order to be instructed in the English language, to which I replied affirmatively on condition that they should read our school books which





had much contact either with his opposite number or with the other's parishoners. The third and most important factor, however, was the prejudice, even bigotry, of each group.

West, in his Substance of a Journal, gives an example:

Nor can I imagine that the system taught by the Canadian Catholic priests will avail any thing materially in benefitting the morals of the people; they are bigotted to opinions which are calculated to fetter the human mind to cramp human exertion, and to keep their dependents in perpetual leading strings.... While they multiply holidays, to the interruption of human industry, ... they lightly regard the Sabbath;.... I thank God that I am a Protestant against such idolatry and ecclesiastical tyranny.<sup>48</sup>

The Bishop of Quebec, in a letter to the Roman Catholic missionaries, reflected a similar, though far milder, view:

Although Mr. Halkett, Lord Selkirk's brother-in-law, assured me that this man [West] had orders to confine himself to the Protestants and not to meddle in any manner with the French, the Indians or the bois brûlés [Métis], nevertheless I believe that you will do well to be on guard against the fanatical zeal with which this kind of person is sometimes seized, and which could do much detriment to your flock.<sup>49</sup>

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Ibid., are principally extracts from the Holy Scriptures." September 13, 1824, Jones notes the Bishop's request to peruse the texts. Jones assumed, apparently correctly, that this would end the matter.

Ibid., February 11, 1825, The Roman Catholic Bishop asked to borrow some "slates" for the schools. Jones agreed.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., November 6, 1823.

<sup>48</sup>West, p. 121.

<sup>49</sup>Father Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, April 10, 1821, Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 293.





Jones reflected a similar prejudice, though it appeared to be less vehement than his predecessor's views:

My time is principally taken in reading Bishop Hall's Polemical Works. I have happened at times to mislay it after perusal and it has been taken up by some who did not like the words, "No peace with Rome", and who strongly remonstrated with me for reading such works. I am inclined to think that his pen has been dipped too deeply into the venom of controversy myself.<sup>50</sup>

The results of such prejudice were easily apparent. It was an easy step to generalize from one's anti-Roman Catholicism to prejudice against those communities in the Settlement professing such views. Cockran illustrated this point:

I went up with Canadian Half-Breeds who were all Roman Catholics, who acted according to the rules of their church, viz., they hated me as a Heretic, with a perfect Hatred, and all their actions were governed by the same bitterness of spirit.<sup>51</sup>

Prejudice of this nature not only precluded meaningful cooperation between the two missionary camps but it could, given public expression, threaten the small degree of stability that still remained in the Settlement.

All agencies responsible for the presence of the missionaries in the Red River Settlement were well aware of the possibility of a clash between the two religions. All took pains to warn the missionaries of the adverse consequences which could result.<sup>52</sup> An excellent example of

<sup>50</sup> Jones, Journal, June 25, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>51</sup> Cockran to the Secretary, July 29, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>52</sup> ? to West, May 23, 1822, O.C., C.M.S.A.





these warnings is contained in a letter from Lord Selkirk to the Bishop of Quebec in December, 1819:

Your Lordship knows full well the importance of preventing discord in a young colony, especially when it is surrounded, as is the Red River, by jealousy and ill will; and you will appreciate how much the maintenance of union between the colonists will depend upon good will and general cooperation for the public good between the pastors of different sects.<sup>53</sup>

It remained for events to test the resolve of the missionaries in this respect.

Initial contact between the clergy of the two churches appears to have been a mixture of guarded curiosity and an element of competitiveness. Father Dumoulin exhibited this mixture in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec in 1821:

I have not yet seen him [West], but I have heard quite a good deal about him; I think he is pleased with me. He sent me word by the Governor to ask Mr. Destroismaisons to be good enough to teach him French, promising to teach him English in return. I have advised Mr. Destroismaison to try to make use of him to learn English, but in such a way as not to teach him French, since he will know it only too soon, no doubt.<sup>54</sup>

The first clash of interest occurred with the immigration of the Swiss. On their arrival many of them formed close associations with the German-speaking Demeurons. Quite quickly the result was marriage between the daughters of the Swiss and the bachelor Demeurons. As most of the Swiss were Protestants and the Demeurons were Roman Catholic a problem arise. West explained:

Those of the Germans who were Catholics, applied to the Canadian Priests to solemnize their marriage;

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<sup>53</sup> Lord Selkirk to Bishop Plessis, December 30, 1819, Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 259.

<sup>54</sup> Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, the feast of the Holy Epiphany, 1821, Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 286.





but they refused, because their intended wives were Protestants; and such was their bigotry in this matter in refusing to marry a Catholic to a Protestant, that they expressed an opinion, that a Catholic could not be present even as a witness, "sine culpa" when I performed the ceremony, "inter Catholicos et Hereticos<sup>†</sup>."

\*Without blame

+Between Catholics and Heretics<sup>55</sup>

The Roman Catholic missionaries had their own view:

All the new Swiss settlers, with the exception of seven, are Protestants.... The Anglican minister has married many of them to Catholic Meurons, and there was even one Canadian among the number. These marriages, however, were performed in a manner to disgust those who witnessed them, and to leave small room for respect for the minister and his functions.

The priest then continued:

That fanatic on his visit to Hudson Bay with Indian traders established an auxiliary Bible society, recommended highly in heretical praises but nevertheless fundamentally heretical and subversive, and, in his fanatical zeal sent it to me, in order that I might contribute something.<sup>56</sup>

The situation with the Swiss was unfortunate. The stringency of Roman Catholic marriage regulations in comparison with those of the Anglicans placed the Roman Catholic clergy at a disadvantage. They had been unable to get permission to marry Catholics to Protestants or Protestants to Protestants in spite of their repeated requests to the Church hierarchy.<sup>57</sup> The relatively large numbers involved in these marriages caused the priests to see them as a major invasion of their

<sup>55</sup>West, p. 69.

<sup>56</sup>Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, March 20, 1822, Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 341.

<sup>57</sup>Provencher to Bishop Plessis, January 15, 1819, Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 191.





fold by West. After the initial flurry the dispute appears to have languished.<sup>58</sup> The emigration of the bulk of those who had contracted mixed marriages, following the flood of 1826, removed a principal bone of contention. An additional relevant fact in this dispute was the absence of a personal confrontation. If feelings were conveyed to the other party it was through rumour or a second person. Neither clergy permitted the issue to become a topic of public conversation.

The issue of mixed marriages performed by West had the beneficial effect of delineating the areas of activity with greater clarity. As mentioned previously, language and the pattern of settlement contributed to the lack of cooperation between the clergy. These same factors also served to maintain the peace by establishing clear limits of each field of religious endeavour. While the mixed marriages issue threatened this division of activity, it also served to warn the clergy of the dangers involved. In 1822 West was offered an opportunity to question the religious status quo. A French-Canadian made repeated requests to have West educate his children in the English language and the Anglican religion. West refused, much to the annoyance of members of the Protestant community.<sup>59</sup> In effect, the Anglicans accepted

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<sup>58</sup>Jones, Journal, September 13, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A., makes reference to the problem of mixed marriages performed by himself. However, the issue no longer induces the same heated comments.

<sup>59</sup>Winnipeg Post, Journal, February 5, 1823, Series B235/a/5, H.B.C.A.





the limitations imposed by the presence of the Roman Catholic clergy on their future fields of endeavour. Prejudice remained to color each major community's view of the other.<sup>60</sup> The clergy were to contribute to this since their words and actions were steeped in the prejudice of the day. However, they never provided the issues which disrupted, from time to time, the delicate balance that existed between the two religious communities.

The relationship between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholic missionaries which evolved during the foundation years owed more to outside circumstances than it did to the actions of these men. Both parties accepted the assumption that, for the most part, the French were Roman Catholic and the English were Protestant. With the emigration of those who failed to fit this classification, the Demeurons and Swiss, the understanding proved adequate. As long as both missionary camps remained in the Settlement and accepted the understanding, neither party constituted a threat to the other.

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<sup>60</sup>The correspondence of the Anglican missionaries continually makes caustic references to the behavior of the Roman Catholic clergy.





## CHAPTER IV

### THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The events involving the relationships of the Anglican clergy with their sponsors and with the Roman Catholic missionaries were part of their experience in coming to terms with their new surroundings. The attempt to achieve the goal of Christianity and civilization in Rupert's Land was initiated in the Red River Settlement. At this time the settlers at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers faced two fundamental problems. The first was that of survival in the harsh climate of the region. Geographical isolation heightened the Settlement's vulnerability to natural disasters. Unseasonable blizzards and frosts, drought, floods, and grasshoppers combined to threaten the survival of the Settlement and to contribute to its instability.<sup>1</sup> The second problem, creating a functioning community, arose out of the heterogeneous character of the population. The racially, linguistically, and religiously mixed society of the Red River Settlement was not an amalgam but, in reality consisted of several relatively homogeneous communities. Each

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<sup>1</sup>The threat of a Sioux attack from the south added to the instability of life in Red River. During the period under study several people, mostly Métis, were murdered by the Sioux on the prairie to the south. West Substance of a Journal, p. 58, recorded such an event.





community faced the tasks of adapting traditional values and attitudes to a new environment and at the same time, achieving a détente with neighbouring communities which possessed alien ways. Social interplay of this nature was marked by instability and a sense of insecurity. During the foundation years the various social tensions were expressed largely in the conflict between the Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company. Although this conflict dominated events and involved the clergy in spite of their attempts to remain impartial, it is still necessary to examine the problems faced by the various communities and the relationship between these communities and the Anglican clergy. Our discussion will be limited to the five communities regularly encountered by the clergy; the Company's officers, the "Principal Settlers", the half-breed families of the retired servants at Grand Rapids, the Highland Scots farmers at Kildonan, the Swiss and Demeurons, and the Saulteaux Indians of Peguis' band. The Anglican missionary effort among these communities marked the initial attempt to bring Christianity and civilization to Rupert's Land.

#### 1. THE COMPANY VERSUS THE SETTLEMENT

The conflict between the Company and the Settlement dominated events during the foundation years. For this reason it is necessary to examine the course of this conflict, other problems associated with it, and the eventual victory of the Company. Also it is necessary to examine the Anglican clergy's involvement. Not only did they play





an important role in many of the events which transpired, but the outcome was of the greatest importance to their work.

The conflict between the Colony and the Company had its origins in the period of anarchy during the fur trade competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. At this time individuals known as "freemen", cast offs, or deserters from both Companies, took advantage of the battle of the giants to establish an illicit trade in furs. Although the Hudson's Bay Company by law possessed a monopoly of trade, the North West Company was ample evidence that energetic trading was more than an adequate answer to the Company's claims. By 1821 when the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the North West Company, an extensive illicit trade in furs in the region of the Settlement was in operation.<sup>2</sup> It appears very likely that some people in the colony administration were directly involved in the illicit trade, using goods from the Colony store. This is suggested in an entry from the journal kept at Winnipeg Post for September 22, 1822:

Mr. Eustace [H.B. CO. Officer] having had occasion to pass there [Colony Fort] a short time after the notice [issued by Chief Factor Clarke against the illicit trade and noting punitive actions to be taken by the Company] was served, stopped to converse with some person in front of the Fort, when a clerk named Rainberger [possibly the father of the artist Peter Rindisbacker?] made use of very threat-

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<sup>2</sup>The extent of the illicit trade can be seen in the journals, reports and correspondence emanating from Winnipeg Post at this time, Series B235/a, B235/b, and B235/e, H.B.C.A. Also one should consult the correspondence and reports of Simpson to the Governor and Committee, Series D4/1 to D4/16 and D4/85 to D4/89, H.B.C.A.





ening language towards Mr. Clarke in consequence of it. Mr. E. [sic] ... reports he saw Larante receive Blankets, cloth, and other goods from the Colony store.<sup>3</sup>

It would appear that the illicit traders had the support of most individuals in the Settlement, as another entry from the same journal illustrates:

The generality of the colonists also seem to be in favor [sic] of a free trade, and it would appear that they are supported in this opinion by the head of the colony; ...<sup>4</sup>

This entry suggests that the struggle for control of the fur trade was merely one aspect of the conflict.

In Rupert's Land, as well as the Settlement, fur was King. Economic activity beyond the level of mere subsistence stemmed indirectly or directly from the fur trade.<sup>5</sup> Social status was derived from one's present or past association with the fur trade. It did not matter to the people of the Settlement that the fur trade could support only a few in relative wealth, that to democratize the fur trade was to destroy its ability to bestow wealth and status. It did not matter that most individuals lacked the financial resources or the skills to engage profitably in the trade.<sup>6</sup> To most

<sup>3</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, September 25, 1822, Series B235/a/4, H.B.C.A.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1822.

<sup>5</sup>Simpson to J. Hargrave, December 13, 1833, The Hargrave Correspondence, ed. G. P. Glazebrook, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1938), p. 120.

<sup>6</sup>Although nearly everyone dabbled in the fur trade at one time or another no more than a dozen names are mentioned in the Company documents. These individuals would constitute the Company's principal opposition.





individuals the fur trade was the key to material success and happiness. The myth of the "good life" through the fur trade offered hope. It lay behind other related problems which faced the Company officers.

The struggle between the Settlement and the Company was complicated by two further problems. The first problem was the lack of clarity in defining the areas of authority assigned either to the Company on the one hand or to the government of the Settlement on the other. Numerous incidents occurred involving not only Chief Factor Clarke and Governor Bulger but the personnel of each establishment. Each clash added fuel to the conflict until on one occasion a volley of gunfire greeted the efforts of the Company officers attempting to intercept what they believed to be an illicit trader.<sup>7</sup> The Company officers felt that Bulger was behind the incident. Events such as this, coupled with the ever current rumours of plots by various groups in the Settlement, suggested that a violent confrontation was imminent.<sup>8</sup>

The second problem complicating the struggle stemmed from the Settlement's child-like dependence on the Company for many of the necessities of life. In this position the settlers often made impossible demands on the Company. When

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<sup>7</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, September 20, 1822, Series B235/a/4, H.B.C.A.

<sup>8</sup>It is difficult to assess the seriousness of these plots. Although the plotters lacked able leadership it would appear that the Company lacked the means to defeat even a small armed revolt.





the Company was unable or unwilling to comply, spiteful action was threatened and often taken. On most occasions this action was only of an irritating nature but at times it could lead to serious consequences. The Winnipeg Post Journal for February 24, 1823, recorded the incident of a Demeuron by the name of Archette who demanded compensation for a horse stolen by the "Red Lake" Indians. When the Company refused, Archette threatened to kill the first member of the band he encountered.<sup>9</sup> A Demeuron threat was not to be taken lightly. Incidents of this nature exasperated the Company officers. For them the Settlement was a parasite on the fur trade, draining away their profits.<sup>10</sup>

By 1823 the Company had evolved the methods necessary to establish its control over the fur trade and to limit the returns of the illicit trade. However, it would take two successive natural disasters to achieve a relative degree of stability in the relationship between the Company and the Settlement. The Company's first step ended the administrative conflict between its resident officers and the personnel of the Settlement's government. The principal individuals were removed. Chief Factor Clarke, as well as Governor Bulger of the Settlement, were replaced. It is interesting to note that West's dismissal occurred at the same time. The executors of Lord Selkirk's estate replaced

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<sup>9</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, February 24, 1823, Series B235/a/15, H.B.C.A.

<sup>10</sup>Simpson, Report to Governor and Committee, August 1, 1823, Series D4/86, H.B.C.A.





Bulger with Robert Pelly. After the completion of his two-year term the executors appointed Chief Factor MacKenzie as Governor of Assiniboia.<sup>11</sup> In addition, a Council of Assiniboia was appointed to give representation to the various communities.<sup>12</sup> These efforts in effect ended the administrative conflict between the Company and the Settlement. At the same time sustained pressure was brought to bear on the petty traders. This pressure had positive aspects. Financial and other incentives were offered to leading traders to settle in the Settlement and engage in such occupations as merchandising and freighting.<sup>13</sup> The Company also initiated a variety of projects such as the Buffalo Wool Company<sup>14</sup> and the importation of sheep to provide economic alternatives for the ambitious settlers. Those whose special skills and interests limited them to the fur trade were given special licenses to trade along the American frontier in competition with interlopers from that nation.<sup>15</sup> These steps did not achieve the success that was anticipated, but they gave the Company the initiative. Those settlers who still sought to realize the rewards of the fur trade myth were now forced to

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<sup>11</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, August 20, 1826, Series D4/12, H.B.C.A.

<sup>12</sup>Minutes of the Council of Assiniboine, October, 1822, to June, 1824, contained in Simpson, Report to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/87, H.B.C.A..

<sup>13</sup>Simpson to G. McTavish, January 4, 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.

<sup>14</sup>Simpson to J. Pritchard, February 18, 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A., notes the role that liquor played in the failure of this business.

<sup>15</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, September 31 [?], 1825, Series D4/10, H.B.C.A.





consider more violent and radical measures. This in itself cost them the support of others in the Settlement.

The year 1826 saw the triumph of the Company's policies. However, neither the illicit trade nor the fur trade myth disappeared. A weary population merely acquiesced in the Company's supremacy. The radicalism of the few led the majority of the population to choose stability rather than a utopian future. The winter of 1826-26 proved to be extremely harsh. During a severe blizzard early in 1826 several of the buffalo hunting Métis, possibly as many as thirty, died on the prairie to the south and west of the Settlement.<sup>16</sup> This event sparked social chaos. Three separate plots were uncovered among the Demeurons, French-Canadians, and Métis threatening an attack on the Company or the more prosperous settlers.<sup>17</sup> The Company feared the worst when spring brought a flood which inundated the countryside for miles around. The threats to the peace of the Settlement were dissipated in the month-long struggle to survive the rampaging waters. When the floods finally retreated, the growing season were so far advanced that little hope could be held for a successful harvest in the fall.<sup>18</sup> For the

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<sup>16</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, February 10, 1826, Series B235/a/7, H.B.C.A.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., April 8, 1826.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., June 15, 1826.





troublesome element in the Settlement this proved to be the last straw. Between 250 and 300 people emigrated, largely Demeurons, Swiss, and French Canadians.<sup>19</sup> A weary population remained to lay aside the fur trade myth for the moment, to accept the paramountcy of the Company, and to choose other means of realizing a better future.

The relatively small population made it impossible for the missionaries to avoid involvement in the conflict between Company and Settlement. West attempted to remain impartial<sup>20</sup> and on occasion tried to mediate between the two when administrative conflicts developed.<sup>21</sup> Until 1823 the Company and the Settlement were evenly matched. As a result, West's fence-sitting probably earned him the enmity of both parties. From the officers' point of view his criticism of their behavior and lack of appreciation of the problems they faced placed him in the ranks of the parasites on the fur trade. From the settlers' point of view West must have seemed a Company man. His position as chaplain, coupled with his strict Evangelical views, placed him in the ranks of the opposition.<sup>22</sup> West's position became impossible. Because the opposing forces were evenly matched, every action

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., July, 1826. Numerous entries for this month record the exodus.

<sup>20</sup>West, Journal, May 2, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., October 5, 1822.

<sup>22</sup>Nearly anything which displeased the settlers was attributed directly or indirectly to the Company.





taken by him was seen as support for one party or the other. Jones, who succeeded West, in 1823, encountered different circumstances.

When Jones arrived in the Settlement, the balance was swinging in favor of the Company. The opposition was forced to consider violence as a means to success. Thus individuals who valued stability over the fur trade myth joined the ranks of the Company.<sup>23</sup> Jones could now support the Company without facing the same pitfalls that West had encountered. Initially Jones sought to remain impartial by resigning from the Council of Assiniboia. The Company opposed this step.<sup>24</sup> With the passage of time Jones became a valuable ally of the Company in opposition to the illicit trade. On occasion he marshalled public opinion in support of the Company.

With his fellow missionary, Cockran, who arrived with his wife in 1825, Jones served the Company well during these years. Following the disastrous blizzard early in 1826 Jones and Cockran organized contributions of grain for the starving Métis on the plains.<sup>25</sup> By such involvement the missionaries made themselves increasingly valuable both to the Settlement and the Company. They were important catalysts in achieving a relatively stable relationship between the two camps.

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<sup>23</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, March 27, 1827, Series B235/a/8, H.B.C.A.

<sup>24</sup>Jones, Journal, January 1, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>25</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, March 23, 1826, Series B235/a/7, H.B.C.A.



The Anglican clergy were involved in the conflict in another respect. Whether they realized it or not, a Company victory was essential if their efforts were to enjoy success. In a sense the fur trade myth was a competing religion. The myth was a legacy from the first wave of European civilization to enter Rupert's Land, the fur trader. In a land where hunger and cold were constant companions, the myth promised more tenable results than the spiritual message offered by Evangelical Christianity. When the settlers laid the myth aside, the Anglican clergy offered an alternative. The contrast between the success enjoyed by West and Jones involved a variety of factors; however, one of the most important was the defeat of the fur trade myth.





## 2. THE CLERGY AND THE COMPANY OFFICERS

The relationship between the Anglican clergy and the Company officers was of great significance. Both had their own particular interests which had to be redefined in terms of the other's interests and expectations. West's relationship with the officers was marked by a clash which threatened the future of the Anglican mission in the Settlement. Yet mutual understanding emerged out of this conflict which stabilized and strengthened the mission's foundation. Jones applied his special abilities to develop a relationship based on mutual respect, a relationship which was of great value to the Anglican clergy.

The end of the fur trade competition in 1821 brought an end to organized violence which had characterized the previous decade in Rupert's Land;<sup>26</sup> however, it did not herald a new era of stability for the Company officers. The reorganization of the fur trade following the end of the competition focussed on reducing expenses by eliminating unnecessary personnel. The Governor of the Northern Department, Simpson, was ruthless in eliminating those individuals incapacitated by age, injury, lack of education, or personal habits.<sup>27</sup> The officers must have greeted such changes with mixed feelings. No doubt they welcomed the move to cut

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<sup>26</sup> The hate engendered by the massacre at Seven Oaks in 1816 remained to poison the relations between the various communities.

<sup>27</sup> A. S. Morton, Sir George Simpson (Toronto: Dent and Sons, 1944), pp. 46-47.





expenses, but for many, it meant demotion or retirement. In such a situation the officers found it difficult to accept the directors' decision to extend economic aid to the Settlement and financial assistance to the Anglican mission.<sup>28</sup>

Those officers who remained in the Company's service faced the difficult task of eliminating the petty traders in the region of the Settlement. Until 1823 they could not find the means to establish the Company's supremacy. Again the Settlement was the focus of their animosity. It supplied and sheltered the petty traders. Individuals there led the assault on the Company's monopolistic rights. If the officers failed to control the illicit trade, the Settlement would lead the thrust into the valuable fur areas of the north.

The personal and business interests of the officers brought them into conflict with West's energetic pursuit of his goal. Although the conflict may have been unavoidable, one aspect of West's character had a great influence on the course of events and the outcome. West's intellectual rigidity was apparent in all his writings. He exhibited curiosity concerning the beliefs of the Indians but only in respect to the degree that these beliefs showed the Indians to be the lost ten tribes of Israel.<sup>29</sup> West's experiences in no way modified his views. His Evangelical fervor was a source of boundless energy, as his travels throughout the

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<sup>28</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/8, H.B.C.A.

<sup>29</sup>West, p. 54.





region and his many and varied activities in the Settlement testify. However, West's world was limited by the stereotypes of Evangelical thought. When his progress was inevitably hindered by the complex circumstances in the Settlement, he was unable to accept anything but a "black and white" interpretation of events and individuals. Writing of a certain type of religious attitude, William James, in his Varieties of Religious Experience, seems to be describing this aspect of West's character:

He is liable to fixed ideas and obsessions.  
His conceptions tend to pass immediately into  
belief and action.

. . . . .  
Their ideas possess them, they inflict them,  
for better or worse, upon their companions of their  
age!<sup>30</sup>

Eric Hoffer in The True Believer, advances a similar characterization:

At the root of his [the fanatic] cockiness is the conviction that life and the universe conform to a simple formula --his formula. He is thus without the fruitful intervals of groping, when the mind is as it were in solution --ready for all manner of new reactions, new combinations and new beginnings.<sup>31</sup>

An individual such as West possessed almost limitless energy; yet he could destroy himself and his cause on unimportant obstacles which he could have by-passed.

The genesis of the conflict between West and the officers can be observed within a few months of his arrival. At this time attention was focussed on the implications of

<sup>30</sup>James, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup>Hoffer, p. 141.





West's work for the fur trade:

I was told of difficulties, and some spoke of impossibilities in the way of teaching them Christianity or the first rudiments of settled and civilized life; but with a combination of opposing circumstances, I determined not to be intimidated, nor to "confer with flesh and blood" but to put my hand immediately to the plough, in the attempt to break in upon this heathen wilderness.<sup>32</sup>

By the spring of 1822 West expressed in his journal what he felt to be the reason for the officers' lack of cooperation:

It was now hinted to me, that the interest I was taking in the education of the native children, had already excited the fears of some of the chief factors and traders, as to the extent to which it might be carried. Though a few conversed liberally with me on the subject, there were others who were apprehensive that the extension of knowledge among the natives, and locating them in agricultural pursuits, where practicable, would operate as an injury to the fur trade.<sup>33</sup>

The situation was far different than in the previous year when West had organized a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society among the Company officers gathered for the annual meeting at York Factory.<sup>34</sup> In a private letter to Rev. Henry Budd in the autumn of 1822 West reiterated his explanation of the lack of cooperation by the officers:

I find a cold indifference on the part of the Chief Officers resident in the Country, ... they ... cannot conceal their fears lest the plans which we have in view in seeking to civilize and evangelize the poor Indian will be the means of lessening the quantum of fur and consequently gain - .... I assure them I can see no ground whatever for these alarms; ....<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup>West, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>34</sup>West, Journal, September 2, 1821, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>35</sup>West, to H. Budd, November 26, 1822, I.C., C.M.S.A.





In the same letter West mentioned that a Chief Factor had pointedly asked him how the missionaries were financed and then noted for West's benefit that this decision had been made in London. However, the alleged incompatibility between piety and business activity was not the sole issue involved in the conflict.

As the tension between West and the officers developed, West placed the responsibility for the failure of the mission to make significant progress on the shoulders of the officers and expressed this view in his journal for September 16, 1823:

I was led to consider that the Resolves of Council in Hudson's Bay relative to the amelioration of the condition of the Indians and promoting moralization and religion in the country, were like the acts of the West Indian legislatures passed professedly with a view to the promotion of Religion among the Slaves, worse than nullities. The general practise is opposed to that solicitude expressed for the moral and religious interests of the Natives and others.<sup>36</sup>

After many years in the fur trade many of the officers had developed social habits which would not be approved in Great Britain. Sexual promiscuity, lapses from sobriety, and the failure to keep the Sabbath attracted West's attention.<sup>37</sup> Before he reached the Settlement in 1820, he was already thoroughly disgusted with the behavior of Europeans in Rupert's Land:

This [degeneracy of character] I lamented to find was too generally the case with Europeans, particularly so in their barbarous treatment of women.

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<sup>36</sup>West, Journal, September 16, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>37</sup>Numerous references to these failings are found in the correspondence and journals of all three missionaries.





They do not admit them as their companions, nor do they allow them to eat at their tables, but degrade them merely as slaves to their arbitrary inclinations while the children grow up wild and uncultivated as the heathen.<sup>38</sup>

In many respects the officers were the most reprehensible because they constituted the social class with the greatest privileges and, therefore, bore the most responsibility. In a footnote to West's copy of the Minutes of the Council held at York Factory, July 5, 1823, the following appeared:

One of the Chief Factors, avowedly a married man, takes with him a Swiss girl into the Interior, without censure from the Council. Women are kept at most of the Posts.<sup>39</sup>

West felt that behavior of this nature had an adverse affect on the Indians. One of the few occasions when he met Peguis, the Saulteaux chief, he related the following conversation:

"It was the will of the Great Spirit, which he declared in His Book, that a man should have but one wife, and a woman but one husband." He [Peguis] smiled at this information, and said that "he thought that there was no more harm in Indians having two wives than one of the settlers," whom he named. I grieved for the depravity of Europeans as noticed by the heathen, and as raising a stumbling block in the way of their receiving instruction  
 ....<sup>40</sup>

West apparently introduced the issue of moral behavior into his sermons.<sup>41</sup> "Pulpit denunciation" made the split between West and the officers irreconcilable.

<sup>38</sup>West, p. 15.

<sup>39</sup>West, extracts from the Minutes of Council held at York Factory, July 5, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>40</sup>West, p. 104.

<sup>41</sup>Simpson to Harrison, March 10, 1825, Series D4/5, H.B.C.A.





As previously mentioned, the documents suggest that West was dismissed solely on the basis of his report to the directors of the Company. Correspondence from Simpson to the Governor and Committee did not mention the conflict. In referring to the Anglican mission and West, Simpson made only bland references to the benefits of each to the fur trade.<sup>42</sup> His condemnation of West was dated more than six months after the missionary's dismissal.<sup>43</sup> The year 1823 marked the low point in the relationship between the officers and the Anglican mission. With the arrival of West's successor, Jones, the situation improved.

A variety of factors serve to explain the improved relations between the Anglican clergy and the officers in the period 1824 to 1826. The administrative house-cleaning which removed key personnel was effective. The new Governor of Assiniboia, Robert Pelly, and his wife possessed strong Evangelical sympathies. Initially somewhat homesick, Jones found solace in their company.<sup>44</sup> With the trade monopoly becoming daily more apparent, the officers adopted a less jaundiced view of the Settlement and those associated with it.<sup>45</sup> Also Jones benefited from the Church Missionary Society's re-examination of the timetable for achieving Christianity and civilization and the position of the half-breed in the mission program. After 1823 the Society did

<sup>42</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, July 31, 1822, Series D4/85, H.B.C.A.

<sup>43</sup>Simpson to Harrison, August ? , 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.

<sup>44</sup>Jones to Pratt, August 3, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>45</sup>Simpson to Harrison, August ? , 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.





not place the same emphasis on an immediate missionary effort into the interior. Thus Jones could devote his energies to the mission's affairs in the Settlement without feeling that somehow this was at variance with his major goal. However, the explanation of the improved relationship between the officers and the clergy is not complete without reference to Jones. The young missionary stood in strange contrast to his predecessor. Jones believed in the tenets of Evangelicalism with no less fervor than West, yet his humility -- some would say naivety -- a quality which West lacked, won many friends and admirers. In time Jones looked upon Simpson with little short of awe.<sup>46</sup> Simpson, ever ready to sense the direction of a new wind, made special efforts to form a strong bond with the young missionary.<sup>47</sup> By 1826 it was apparent that a workable relationship existed between the officers and the Anglican clergy.<sup>48</sup>

At first glance it would appear that the conflict between West and the officers was an unfortunate occurrence which needlessly hampered the mission. A closer examination would suggest another view. The officers' view of West and the mission placed both in a subordinate position.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Jones, Journal, February 5, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>47</sup>Simpson to Harrison, August ? , 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.

<sup>48</sup>Jones to Secretaries, August 24, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>49</sup>A. S. Morton, History..., p. 68, describes Simpson's religious outlook as follows: "His conception of religion probably went no farther than the conventional view of his time, that the Church was an excellent institution for teaching the lower orders to respect and obey their superiors." It is probable that most of the Company officers held similar views at this time.





Neither West nor the mission were judged in terms of their goals and work but in terms of their value to the fur trade. West's single-minded pursuit of his goals and his vigorous criticism of the officers' behavior changed this view. In effect, West played a major role in establishing a relatively independent position for the mission. A more timorous man, Jones for example, might have accepted the mission's distinctly subordinate position in respect to the Company. West's actions prevented this. The officers accepted the fact that the mission did not exist solely for their benefit. At the same time the missionaries became aware of what they could expect from the officers. If the Anglican mission was not to be conducted solely in the interests of the officers and the fur trade, neither would the fur trade be conducted in the interests of the missionaries. In the period after 1823 Jones' qualities of patience and tolerance paid dividends. A workable relationship evolved between the officers and the clergy. It was based on a realistic assessment of the limits of cooperation. A delicate balance was achieved in which neither party demanded more nor gave less than was necessary.





### 3. THE CLERGY AND THE PRINCIPAL SETTLERS

In the social values of the day, both conventional and Evangelical, the privileges of social position were the just rewards for the responsibilities of leadership in the community. During the foundation years the social class in the Settlement responsible for leadership, designated the "Principal Settlers" in contemporary accounts, took the first tentative steps towards fulfilling its functions. The failure of this class to assume its social responsibilities in the early years was both a result of the conflict between the Company and the Settlement and a contributing factor to the intensity of the conflict. Although there appeared to be little interaction between West and this class, the picture changed after Jones arrived. The young missionary played a major role in directing the principal settlers towards an acceptance of their social responsibilities. Thus the fortunes of the Anglican clergy were linked with this important segment of the Settlement's population.

Three factors serve to explain the failure of the "Principal Settlers" to exercise their leadership in the early years. The first was the problem of clearly defining its membership. During the foundation years the chaos caused by the natural disasters, the conflict with the Company, and community antagonisms, created a society in a constant state of flux. Class membership could not be determined with ease. However, by 1823 the basic qualifications for membership in the upper class of the Settlement emerged. Senior officer rank in the Company appeared to be the major





criteria. However, much also depended upon the wealth and behavior of the individual. In later years some former clerks, for example, Donald Gunn -- were considered members of the establishment.<sup>50</sup> Others who had been members lost status. The transitory nature of the population in this period also complicated the question of membership. Individuals such as Alec MacDonell and the Demeuron, Captain Matthew were qualified for membership, however, many of these individuals emigrated.<sup>51</sup> In the long run this proved beneficial as the principal settlers gained a degree of homogeneity based on their former association with the Company.

The second factor determining the failure of the principal settlers to exercise leadership was their alienation from life in the Settlement. The major antagonist for these men was the Company. Those who settled in the Red River during the period of colonization under Lord Selkirk were alienated by the Company's determination, after 1823, to prevent speculation in land. Grants of land were made on condition that they be developed.<sup>52</sup> The ex-officers of the Company, although they were emotionally linked to the

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<sup>50</sup>D. Gunn and C. Tuttle, History of Manitoba (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Co., 1880); the preface contains a sketch of Gunn's career from Company clerk to a member of the establishment in the Settlement.

<sup>51</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, June 10, 1824, Series B235/a/16, H.B.C.A.

<sup>52</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/8, H.B.C.A.





fortunes of the fur trade by virtue of their past careers, bore no love for the Company. For most of these men their retirement to the Settlement was the result of the cost-cutting reorganization undertaken after 1824.<sup>1</sup> Incapacitated by age, personal habits, or a lack of education, they looked with envy upon the younger men of ability who replaced them.<sup>53</sup> Another aspect of alienation for the retired officers was the Settlement itself. Many found themselves there not by choice but by circumstances. During their careers many had acquired intemperate habits which they knew would render them unacceptable among their own kind in the Canadas or Great Britain.<sup>54</sup> Others with Indian wives and half-breed families knew the unhappiness and difficulty that awaited them back home. The alternative was exemplified in a letter written at a later time by Chief Factor Hargrave to Clerk D. McKenzie:

... the report is quite current here that you have sent your late cara spousa an invitation to assume her old position in thy bed and a legal union is to be the reward of her compliance .... As sure as you [do] so sure will Red River be the place to which she will canter away with you when misfortune or age closes your present avocation. To such as you ... this place is the antipodes of a paradise .... Such is an odd sort of a road to happiness, yet such is the present fate of many here who once held our rank in the country and to which matrimony alone has paved the way.<sup>55</sup>

This negative attitude of the retired officers towards the Settlement hindered their development as leaders.

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<sup>53</sup>Simpson to T. Bunn, November 23, 1823, Series D4/2, H.B.C.A., admonishes Bunn, a retired officer for his "slandrous tongue" and threatens to inform the Company that they are "harbouring a viper".

<sup>54</sup>Gunn and Tuttle, p. 58.

<sup>55</sup>Hargrave to D. MacKenzie, no date given, as quoted in The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, ed. M. A. MacLeod, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), p. xxiv.





The third factor is closely related to the second. It could be termed a mental attitude inappropriate in individuals of a ruling class. West described this attitude in his published work:

There was but little willing assistance ... as few possessed any active spirit of public improvement;"...<sup>56</sup>

During the foundation years the principal settlers faced the problems of adjusting the habits of a lifetime at trading posts to the new requirements of an agricultural community. As previously mentioned, several of these men were hindered by their intemperate behavior. In addition, few possessed skills suitable for anything but the fur trade. Some managed to make the transition to other areas of business such as merchandising and freighting.<sup>57</sup> Most proved to be inept both in business and in farming. Years were required before new skills could be acquired. Members of their families also experienced similar problems of adjustment.<sup>58</sup> The mental attitude that resulted from these circumstances was a concern for the immediate and the personal. The principal settlers showed little concern for the collective good either in terms of the Settlement or their own particular class.

<sup>56</sup>West, p. 60.

<sup>57</sup>Simpson to A. Ross, August 25, 1825, Series D4/5, H.B.C.A.

<sup>58</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, November 21, 1822, Series B235/a/5, H.B.C.A., gives an excellent example in the trial of a half-breed son of Pritchard for theft.





The change in the attitude of the principal settlers became evident after 1823. When some of the members of this class were appointed to the Council of Assiniboia, there was little evidence of responsibility. In a report to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company Simpson wrote:

... the lower orders if not ill-advised would I believe conduct themselves with tolerable propriety ... but ... unfortunately ... there are ... a few disaffected persons of the better class whose remarks tend to incite to mischief, and we scarcely hear of a complaint except what emanates from our Councillors: they talk of oppression and a deprivation of their rights and privileges and the ignorant re-echo their words ...<sup>59</sup>

Jones, a member of the Council, possibly sensing this problem, tried to resign on the grounds that he lacked knowledge and that his participation was causing "bad feeling".<sup>60</sup> The Company directors refused to accept his resignation, emphasizing the importance of Jones' participation in terms of the Settlement's well-being.<sup>61</sup>

A perusal of the Minutes of the Council of Assiniboia illustrates that a sense of common interest among the principal settlers began to develop after 1823. After the Company and the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions, the principal settlers were the chief employers of the Settlement's labor supply. Thus it was in their interest to pass

<sup>59</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/8, H.B.C.A.

<sup>60</sup>Jones, Journal, January 1, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>61</sup>Jones, Journal, November 12, 1835, I.C., C.M.S.A., recalls this incident.





legislation, fixing wage rates and prices.<sup>62</sup> In the passage of this legislation, the principal settlers received the support of the Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy and the Company. On another occasion the Roman Catholic Bishop of Juliopolis, a member of the Council, served its interests when he pacified the troublesome elements in the Roman Catholic community.<sup>63</sup> Slowly the principal settlers acquired a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the society in which they exercised some leadership. The natural disasters of 1826 and the threatened disintegration of Red River society which accompanied them had a dramatic effect upon the outlook of this community. The do-nothing negative attitude of former years gave way to a more positive attitude and concern for the future.<sup>64</sup> The principal settlers were establishing themselves as the Settlement's ruling class and were prepared to act as such.

A relationship between the Anglican clergy and the principal settlers developed with the arrival of Jones. During West's tenure there apparently was no association. West's correspondence mentioned no names or contacts other than those of a relatively formal nature. John Pritchard, a

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<sup>62</sup>Minutes of the Council of Assiniboia, from October, 1823, to June 1824, contained in Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/87, H.B.C.A.

<sup>63</sup>D. Mac Kenzie to Simpson, May 4, 1827 (date appears to be wrong, should read 1826), Series D4/119, H.B.C.A.

<sup>64</sup>J. Bird to Simpson, February 18, 1827. Series D4/120, H.B.C.A.





staunch Anglican in later years, was not mentioned. A possible explanation is that Pritchard, like others of his class, apparently had a liquor problem.<sup>65</sup> To West, Pritchard would be no different than the Company officers. With the more tolerant, though not permissive, Jones the situation changed. After his initial hesitancy and with Simpson's encouragement Jones accepted his membership in the ruling class. His journal reflected his close association with members of this community. In many respects Jones guided the principal settlers along the path of social responsibility. Patiently he inculcated various social accoutrements of the corresponding class in Great Britain. Church attendance was becoming mandatory.<sup>66</sup> Legally binding marriages replaced marriages au faon du nord.<sup>67</sup> With others Jones cooperated in organizing a "fair" at Frog Plain.<sup>68</sup> By such activities Jones successfully established a close relationship between the Anglican missionaries and the Establishment in the Settlement. The Establishment, in turn, was functioning in an increasingly successful manner.

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<sup>65</sup>Gunn and Tuttle, p. 230.

<sup>66</sup>Jones, Journal, December 20, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., November 18, 1823.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., October 22, 1824.





#### 4. THE CLERGY AND THE HALF-BREEDS

The year 1824 saw the beginning of a large migration to the Settlement which would continue for a decade. As a result of the Company's reorganization several retired servants with their half-breed families chose to settle along the Red River. Most settled to the north of the Scots at Kildonan at a place known as Grand Rapids.<sup>69</sup> This group was destined to become the largest community in the English-speaking half of the Settlement. The half-breed community faced a variety of problems in establishing themselves as farmers. Not only did they lack the necessary technical skills, but they lacked the necessary social skills for community life as well. The story of the half-breeds belongs to the period following the foundation years. However, as they eventually constituted one of the major supporters of the Anglican clergy, their relationship with the clergy before 1826 is significant.

The problems faced by the retired servants and their families were similar to those of many of the principal settlers. A lengthy letter from Cockran to the Secretaries

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<sup>69</sup>Grand Rapids, Red River Settlement should not be confused with other places of the same name found throughout Rupert's Land. From the correspondence of the clergy it would appear that Grand Rapids lay fifteen miles north of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. West's mission (later St. John's) was constructed near the forks of the rivers. In 1824 Jones began the construction of a new church (later St. Paul's) seven miles to the north. In 1827 Cockran initiated the construction of a church (later St. Andrew's) seven miles down river from the church constructed by Jones. The region around the church constructed under Cockran's auspices was known as Grand Rapids.





of the C.M.S. in July, 1833, described some of these problems and their origins. Although the letter was written nearly a decade after the retired servants first appeared in the Settlement in large numbers, the problems they faced had not changed. Cockran wrote:

Among those 92 families [at Grand Rapids] there are 39 European males and 1 female. The most of these came into the country when they were youths without any fixed principles; as servants to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company....In the summer the whole of their time is occupied in voyaging upon the rivers, ....During the summer there are plenty of opportunities for the young voyager [sic] to give vent to his licentious passions at every post he will find women who will do anything for hire....When the young voyager comes to his winter quarters he wants many things to fit him for this new existence which he has entered upon.... he applies to an Indian who has got some daughters, or two or three wives; here he is quickly served, ... thus the unfortunate voyager forms his connexion with the natives, and raises an offspring. He goes off in the summer, returns in the autumn, and perhaps finds the same young woman given to another. The next time he leaves his winter quarters, he perhaps is sent to a post 600 or 1000 miles from all his former wives; he forgets them at once, and serves himself for the time being, with the first that comes to hand;....The same course is run until old age and grey hairs are upon him; his body emaciated with the fatigues of voyaging, and means too scanty to cast a robe once a year over all his adulterious progeny. Out of his many connexions, he finds some one that ranks above the rest; he selects her to be the companion of his old age; collects his multifarious progeny from the ends of the earth, ... and bends his course to Red River, with a worn out constitution, with small means, with a woman that knows none of the duties of civilized life, with a disjointed family who know nothing but what the heathen have taught them; who have no interest in each other's welfare....<sup>70</sup>

Forced to retire to Red River by advancing age or physical injury, the retired servant faced an arduous life. Cockran

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<sup>70</sup>Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833, I.C., C.M.S.A.





continued:

He receives gratis a piece of land; 33 yards in breadth, and two miles in length. This is too narrow to fence and make a farm of. Therefore the dust of the balance, which has been collecting for 30 years, must be swept out at once to procure another piece to add to his gratuity. Here he commences his operations, buys an axe and hoe, or borrows or begs according to his circumstances. He collects timber to build a house; begins to build and farm. But he stands, he labours, he does all alone; the woman whom he has brought, despises him in her heart; calls him an old dog, neglects to please, and never studies to make herself useful; the children, from having descended from women of various tribes, and neglected by their father in infancy, are without filial or brotherly affection. The voyager's house in every respect, is a house divided against itself....<sup>71</sup>

While the lack of "filial or brotherly affection" within families was not the least of their problems, the retired servants and their half-breed progeny faced far more fundamental hurdles in their efforts to establish themselves on the banks of the Red River. Long years spent as servants or residents in the Company's forts, principally among the Woodland Cree, led to a loss of the finer techniques of farming acquired in their youth. Adequate with the gun, axe, and hoe, their efforts lacked the success of the highly skilled family-team farmers, the Kildonan Scots.<sup>72</sup> Neither had their life in the fur trade posts equipped them to function as buffalo-hunting horsemen on the plains.<sup>73</sup> This problem was complicated by their

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Gunn and Tuttle, p. 261, give an excellent account of the agricultural techniques used in the Settlement. They note the Scots' farming abilities and the superior quality of their produce in comparison with the other communities.

<sup>73</sup>It appears that the bulk of the English-speaking half-breeds had lived among the Woodland Cree. As a result they did not possess the equestrian skills of the Métis who originated from the "Saskatchewan"; however, several did adopt the Metis way of life. In times of scarcity large numbers of English-speaking half-breeds sought provisions on the plains. M. Giraud Le Metis Canadien (Paris: Institut D'Ethnologie, 1945), p. 708.







poverty. In an effort to provide themselves with clothing and necessary tools, many became tripmen on the boats of the Company or of private traders.<sup>74</sup> As tripmen the English half-breeds excelled. Yet having returned to the occupation of their white fathers they also returned to a way of life already vividly portrayed by Cockran. The life of a tripman was obviously not conducive to the development of the social and moral values advocated by their Anglican clergymen and actively sought by many of the half-breeds as well.

A few of the half-breeds joined the Indians or the Métis; some became tripmen; however, many sought the rewards and stability of year around farming. In addition to their lack of technical skills the half-breeds faced the criticism of other communities for their social habits. Little prejudice was directed against the few who found themselves in the Settlement before 1824. Although most of the half-breeds were more conversant in the Cree tongue of their Indian mothers rather than the English language of their white fathers, they encountered few problems of a social nature.<sup>75</sup> After 1824 circumstances changed. The social customs of the half-breed had been acquired at the trading posts. Most of these customs were not welcomed in the Settlement. The principal settlers and the Scots reacted negatively to

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<sup>74</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, February 9, 1827, Series B 235/a/8, H.B.C.A.

<sup>75</sup>In the early years there was little evidence of race prejudice. However, after some of the principal settlers and officers married white women, the situation changed.





displays of the "savage life."<sup>76</sup>

West made little progress among the half-breeds themselves. Apparently the language problem was insurmountable.<sup>77</sup> However, West enjoyed greater success among their white fathers, the retired servants. Men like William Garrioch turned to West and the Anglican mission for spiritual solace.<sup>78</sup> Though not large in numbers, these men were significant. They marked the Anglican mission's first success in the half-breed community. It is difficult to assess the reasons for West's success with these people. Possibly Evangelical Christianity offered them hope in their declining years. No doubt others saw church attendance and involvement as a means of acquiring status.<sup>79</sup> They proved useful when the halfbreeds migrated in large numbers to the Settlement after 1823.

Jones faced the difficult task of accomodating the Anglican mission to the needs of these people. In this task he was assisted by men such as Garrioch. In 1825 Cockran and his wife arrived to help ease the burden. Jones correctly saw these people as the key to the success of the

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<sup>76</sup>Dumoulin to Bishop Plessis, January 5, 1819, as quoted in Documents ..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 174, gives an excellent example of how behavior at trading posts was institutionalized and, when carried to the Settlement by the half-breeds, acted to their detriment: "These half-breeds for a number of years have been able to get rum only now and then on certain festival occasions, so that in order to profit by the opportunity they always get intoxicated and therefore become drunkards. It is the custom, established since time immemorial, that every New Year's Day and Christmas, each fall when the boats arrive, etc., almost everyone gets drunk; it is nearly always the bourgeois who start the thing."

<sup>77</sup>West, p. 51.

<sup>78</sup>West, Journal, February 20, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>79</sup>Jones, Journal, December 20, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





Anglican mission. They were the missionaries who would bring Christianity and civilization to Rupert's Land.<sup>80</sup> Jones proved to be particularly effective in winning their support. His method was revealed in his journal for September 22, 1824:

Rode on about 5 miles further than the building in order to speak to some persons, who I was informed, follow their daily occupations on the Sabbath. I was received very coolly, as might be expected, but I was enabled to deliver my message faithfully and in love to them. In cases of this kind I always find it the best way to entreat --to ask as a favour --their abstaining from improper conduct: <sup>81</sup>human nature revolts from being dictated to--...

The retired servant and the half-breed found the path to salvation difficult. In 1824 Jones noted in his journal:

I have been much tried this last week in consequence of an impropriety of conduct manifested by some communicants<sup>82</sup> at the Fair held on Frog Plain last Thursday....

In spite of these difficulties spectacular progress was made. By 1826 Cockran was able to write happily that "the word flourishes most here amongst the Halfbreeds."<sup>83</sup> The missionaries had discovered a new field of labor. Their successes with the half-breeds would pay dividends in later years.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., December 11, 1823

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., September 22, 1824.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., October 22, 1824.

<sup>83</sup> Cockran to Secretary, July 29, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.





## 5. THE CLERGY AND THE SCOTS

The Highland Scots at Kildonan were the most stable and economically productive community in the Red River Settlement. Brought to the Red River by the humanitarian colonization efforts of Lord Selkirk, the Scots proved to be admirably suited for establishing an agrarian community. From their Highland homeland they brought agricultural skills which required only minor alterations to be of use in the Settlement. Their social habits and behavior in many ways reflected Evangelical values which the Anglican clergy wished to inculcate in the inhabitants of Rupert's Land. It would appear that an alliance between the clergy and the Scots held benefits for both parties. This did not develop. The Kildonan Scots became an embittered and isolated community, separated from the mainstream of life in the Settlement.

Two reasons emerge to explain the isolation of the Scots community. Perhaps the most important factor was the existence of the fur trade myth. This dream of the good life in the future offered nothing for the agrarian Scots. Nevertheless, the dominance of the myth in the life of the Settlement deprived the successful Scots of the recognition which they felt they deserved.<sup>84</sup> In what was ostensibly an agricultural settlement the fur trade was the dominant factor. The Scot's opposition can be seen in the Winnipeg Post Journal of March 27, 1827:

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<sup>84</sup>This attitude is reflected by Ross and Gunn in each of their books on the Red River Settlement.





The Scotch [sic] and other regular settlers are quite hostile to this system of smuggling based on illicit fur trade , ... they have offered their services on all occasions to assist the police in putting down such injurious and illegal practises in future.<sup>85</sup>

With the decline of the myth the position of the Scots improved. However, another circumstance prevented this community from exercising leadership in the Settlement.

The second reason for their isolation was the tenacity with which they preserved their traditional values and customs. The Kildonan Scots farmers came to the Red River, not as individuals, but as family units. Thus the traditions and values of their homeland were more likely to survive with them than with the individual European male who journeyed to the region "to make his fortune" and leave. While many of the Scots traditional ways were preserved because they were equally applicable in the Settlement; others were maintained because they acted as a bulwark against the alien ways of the surrounding communities. Two of these traditions were the Gaelic language and Presbyterianism.<sup>86</sup> These served to remind the Scots of their identity and, by implication, their superiority. Because of its stability and the social habits of the people this community functioned as a bulwark against chaos. The bulk of the Settlement's constabulary was chosen from their ranks.<sup>87</sup> Yet they continued to remain

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<sup>85</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, March 27, 1827, Series B235/a/8, H.B.C.A.

<sup>86</sup>West, p. 51.

<sup>87</sup>Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 5, 1824, Series D4/8, H.B.C.A.





apart.

The relationship between the Anglican clergyman and the Scots community paralleled those between West and the other communities. During West's sojourn in the Settlement the inflexibility of both parties limited the amount of co-operation. Shortly after his arrival in the Settlement West revealed his disappointment:

I expected a willing cooperation from the scotch [sic] settlers, but was disappointed in my sanguine hopes of their cheerful and persevering assistance through their prejudices against the English Liturgy and the simple rites of our communion.<sup>88</sup>

The Scots were disappointed as well. They had hoped for a minister of their own faith. With Jones arrival the prospects for a better relationship between mission and the Scots improved. Jones admired the religious and social behavior displayed by these people. In many ways the Scots portrayed the way of life which the missionaries wished to establish for everyone in Rupert's Land. Yet the insular outlook of the community confused him:

The Scotch[sic] Settlers puzzle me in forming an opinion of their state in regard to religion: the majority of them appear well disposed-- are very attentive to the means of grace-- can talk well on any point of doctrine-- and are zealous in the performance of those duties deemed of weight in the moral estimation of character: but all this is blended with much self consequence...<sup>89</sup>

Jones, more flexible than his predecessor, took steps to modify his church services so as not to offend these Pres-

<sup>88</sup>West, p. 27.

<sup>89</sup>Jones, Journal, December 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.





byterians. These actions won the respect of the Scots community. In his History of Manitoba, Donald Gunn, a member of this community, later wrote as follows:

Always kind and indulgent to his hearers, he [Jones] now laid aside such parts of the liturgy and formulas of the Episcopalian Church as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers. He also held prayer meetings among them after the custom of their own church. Here all was extempore [sic], which raised him higher than ever in their estimation, especially when they knew that he could only do so at the risk of forfeiting his gown.<sup>90</sup>

In spite of these developments, the Scots did not constitute a sound foundation for the Anglican mission. They were strong supporters of religion. Their attendance at church and prayer meeting was exemplary. However, they were zealous in maintaining their Presbyterianism. This provided the excuse to withdraw their support at any time. Jones, as well as West, was frustrated by the oscillating nature of their support.

The relationship with the Scots, while one of the joys, was also one of the failures of the missionaries in the foundation years. Their social and religious behavior closely approximated those found in Evangelical circles. This suggested that with the Anglican clergy they would function as leaders in bringing the benefits of Christianity and civilization to the Settlement. However, their desire to remain apart from the other communities tended to nullify their influence. Even Jones' special abilities were unable to develop a solid foundation for the Anglican mission among these people.

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<sup>90</sup>Gunn and Tuttle, p. 267.





## 6. THE CLERGY AND THE SWISS AND DEMEURONS

As most of the Swiss and Demeurons emigrated following the natural disasters of 1826, their relationship with the Anglican clergy was not of long-range significance. However, as this community constituted one of the most troublesome elements in the Settlement, and as they were the vehicle which caused tension between the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries, it is necessary to examine their plight and their relationship with the Anglican clergy.

The Demeurons took their name from the regiment recruited by Lord Selkirk to protect his colonists from incidents such as the massacre at Seven Oaks. Many European nationalities were represented in this regiment; however, the bulk of the men were German-speaking Roman Catholics. They did not enjoy great success as farmers. By nature they preferred something which offered greater excitement and reward. For this reason they were attracted to the fur trade and became captives of its myth.<sup>91</sup> In 1821 they were joined by German-speaking Swiss Protestants. The Swiss proved to be poor settlers. Craftsman and townspeople, they proved to be poor pioneers during their first years in the Settlement.<sup>92</sup> Alone, and feeling themselves victimized by Lord Selkirk's agents, they naturally turned to the more experienced Demeurons for friendship and leadership. As

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<sup>91</sup>Ross, p. 41.

<sup>92</sup>West, p. 65.





previously mentioned, when daughters of the Swiss Protestants married Roman Catholic Demeurons, the first clash between the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries occurred. However, this clash did not constitute the only contact between the Anglican mission and this community.

As Protestants the Swiss were naturally attracted to West. No doubt language was a problem, but it was not the sole reason for the lack of contact between the missionaries and this community. It was quite likely true that West engendered a feeling of good will when he agreed to marry the Swiss girls to the Demeurons after the priests refused.<sup>93</sup> However, West's severely Evangelical moral outlook dissipated any good-will that existed. The incident that produced this result was West's refusal to baptize the illegitimate child of a Swiss girl. As illegitimate births were certainly not uncommon in the Settlement at this time, it would appear that West was directing his criticism at the way of life of the young lady in question rather than the event in itself.<sup>94</sup> Apparently the Swiss and Demeurons reacted as a unit and expressed objection to West's course of action.<sup>95</sup> As this community rarely appeared in subsequent reports by West, it would appear that the initial relationship was broken.

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>95</sup>West, Journal, February 20, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





With West's departure some of the Swiss apparently renewed their connection with the Protestant mission although Jones too had his difficulties. The Swiss wished to take communion as a right, while Jones placed a great deal of emphasis on the communicant's acceptance of Christ and his willingness to adopt a manner of life reflecting his reformation.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps the language problem was a factor here. In any event it appeared that an understanding was achieved. In the autumn of 1825 Jones noted that large numbers of Swiss were joining the church.<sup>97</sup> Their membership was short-lived, as most of them left the Settlement the following summer.

If nothing else, the relationship between the Swiss and Demeurons and the Anglican clergy offered an interesting contrast of the abilities of West and Jones. As has been shown with the other communities, West lacked the ability to gain acceptance of his beliefs, and to accomodate them to the circumstances of his environment. With phenomenal regularity West's ineptitudes disrupted any potential relationships of benefit to the mission. On the other hand, Jones, no less sincere an Evangelical, possessed the ability to win a following among the diverse communities. It is true that the changed circumstances of life in the Settlement had a bearing upon Jones success. However, the consistency of Jones' success in the face of West's failures

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<sup>96</sup>Jones, Journal, January 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., April 1, 1825.





suggests that the stable foundation for the Anglican mission, laid during these years, owed much to the personable young missionary who had the onerous task of following West.

## 7. THE CLERGY AND THE INDIANS

The success of the Anglican mission in Rupert's Land was to be judged ultimately in terms of the extent to which the Indians accepted Christianity and civilization. West saw this as his principal goal. His single-minded pursuit of this goal was a major factor contributing to the circumstances which led to his dismissal. Following West's departure, Jones and the directors of the C.M.S. saw that it was necessary to view Christianity and civilization in terms of a long-range goal rather than a short-range goal. A major factor contributing to this decision was the failure to achieve a satisfactory relationship between the missionaries and the Indians.

The Indians in the immediate region of the Settlement were of the Saulteaux tribe. Those with whom the clergy had the most contact were led by Peguis.<sup>98</sup> In contrast with later years the Saulteaux at this time were enjoying a golden age. The Settlement had not grown to the point where it destroyed the hunting and trapping resources of the area.<sup>99</sup> In addition, the Settlement provided goods which had become necessities for the Indian. Apparently the

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<sup>98</sup>West and Jones spelt the chief's name as Pigwys; however, later authorities give the spelling used in this thesis.

<sup>99</sup>After 1824 this situation began to change.





Saulteaux looked down upon the whites of the Settlement. In an era when Indian cultural traits gave the aboriginal a useful place in the economy the inability of many of the whites to adjust to prevailing circumstances seemed to be proof of European inferiority.<sup>100</sup> From West's reports of his conversations with Peguis it would appear that the Indian treated the missionary with amused tolerance.<sup>101</sup> At this time Evangelism apparently offered little to the Saulteaux. West had attempted to include some Saulteaux youths among the young Indians of his residential school, the proximity of their friends and relatives and the pull of the forest way of life doomed the experiment.<sup>102</sup> Besides the Cree and Assiniboine children whom West obtained, the Company officers forwarded children from as far west as the "Spogan" Indians of the Oregon Country.<sup>103</sup> The deaths of some of the children led to rumours of mistreatment. In 1825 Simpson wrote Jones to the effect that no more children could be obtained for the school.<sup>104</sup> Jones found his contacts with the Indians limited largely to the wives of the settlers. Apparently most of these women were Cree. In a later period they would be responsible for drawing large numbers of the Muscaigo or Swampy Cree to the Settlement. At the time, however, the

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<sup>100</sup>Jones, Journal, November 7, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>101</sup>West, p. 104.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 142.

<sup>103</sup>Jones, Journal, December 25, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>104</sup>Simpson to Jones, August 26, 1825, Series D4/5, H.B.C.A.





missionaries' success among these women represented their success with the retired servants and the half-breeds.

The failure of the missionaries to achieve significant progress with the Indians as a group was a contributing factor in the missionaries' reassessment of the timetable for achieving their goal. The salvation of the Indian was never abandoned as a goal of the Anglican missionaries. However, by viewing it in the long term, the clergy centered their attention on the Settlement where meaningful progress had been achieved.

## 8. CONCLUSION

The years 1820 to 1826 were significant both in terms of the development of the Settlement and the Anglican mission. During these years the Settlement achieved a degree of stability unknown previously. In addition, it evolved the basic alignments which would characterize its form for the next half century. The price of stability was the loss of a dream, the fur trade myth. However, the myth had not been destroyed. It would remain to periodically break forth and challenge the social status quo. In 1820 the Anglican clergy were not part of the "establishment"; by 1826, they were. This in essence was the achievement of the Anglican missionaries in the foundation years. When West arrived in 1820 the role which the Anglican mission would play in the Settlement was unknown. The sense of immediacy with which he pursued his goal of Christianity and civilization for all peoples in Rupert's Land, brought





him into conflict with every community of importance. His actions led to his own failure as a missionary, and might have ended the Anglican missionary effort in the region. Nevertheless, his actions also served to carve out a wide field of authority and influence for his successors. West was not dismissed for criticizing behavior, rather, it was the manner in which he expressed his criticism. Before his arrival the only criteria for judging the behavior of individuals was the effect that a specific act would have on the economic returns of the fur trade. With West a new morality was introduced. Individuals were not to be judged in terms of Evangelical values and standards of behavior.

Jones arrived in the Settlement to labor under different circumstances. The Company's paramountcy was no longer in doubt. The challenge to the mission offered by the fur trade myth, a pagan religion, was abating. The goal of the mission and the timetable for its achievement were being re-examined in terms of the realities of life in Rupert's Land. In these circumstances Jones proved to be an admirable successor to West. His humility, warmth, and tolerance allowed him to secure a solid foundation for Anglicanism in the spheres of activity in the areas selected by his predecessor. Surprisingly, by gaining the support of one community, Jones did not pay the penalty of losing the support of another. Even the Scots farmers at Kildonan had to recognize his ability in this respect. The social relationships which the Anglican clergy achieved interacted with their goal to produce, by 1826, the beginning





of a new era. The Anglican missionaries now possessed realistic aspirations and objectives based on a secure foundation. Their future success would depend upon their methods of persuasion.





## CHAPTER V

### THE MEANS OF PERSUASION

During the foundation years the activities of the Anglican missionaries were marked by the development of a feasible short-term goal and workable relationships with the various interested organizations and communities in the Settlement. The development of effective means of persuasion were of equal importance to the Anglican missionary effort at this time. The clergy used methods employed by the Evangelical movement in Great Britain. These reflected both the traditional methods used by Protestants, such as the church service and the prayer-meeting, revitalized by the enthusiasm of Evangelicalism, and an Evangelical innovation, education of the masses. Education has been an important element of Protestantism since its inception, but with the Evangelicals the emphasis was placed, not so much on the benefits for the individual, but rather for society. To the Evangelicals, mass education was one of the most important means of effecting a reformation of British society. West, Jones, and Cockran used these methods not only to reform but to convert the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement.



It was not enough that the means of persuasion merely placed Evangelical values before the inhabitants. The methods used by the missionaries were designed to show that the Church was a necessary part of life in the Settlement. During the period of West's residence in the Settlement the chaos engendered by the conflict between the Company and the Settlement and the promise of a prosperous future, implicit in the fur trade myth, left little room for the Church in the lives of many of the people. However, as the conflict abated and the myth proved to be unattainable many of the settlers turned to the Church seeking answers to some of their problems. To some it offered solace for lost dreams. To others it provided the means of attaining a degree of social status. To the half-breeds particularly it filled the cultural void which stemmed from the cross-cultural marriages of their parents. The families of the retired servants lacked the traditions which defined the role of each family member in such local crises as family disputes or death. Evangelicalism furnished answers to these problems, which were conveyed to the people by the various means of persuasion established by West and developed by Jones and Cockran.





## 1. THE RELIGIOUS MEANS OF PERSUASION

In the Settlement the religious means of persuasion used by the Anglican missionaries were the church service, the prayer meeting, and visitation of the parishoners by the clergy. West enjoyed very little success with these methods. This was a result of the circumstances which he encountered in the Settlement, the inadequacies of his own personality, and the time-consuming details entailed in constructing the mission. In addition, it would appear that West's missionary interests centered on education rather than the religious means of persuasion. In such circumstances West's use of the religious methods were marked by a lack of coordination. From the documents one senses cohesion only in terms of West's single-minded pursuit of his goal, not in the missionary program itself. On the other hand, Jones appeared to be an excellent manager in his use of the three religious methods of persuasion. They were integrated into a program in which each method supported the other. This program was a major factor in the construction, in the Settlement, of a secure base for Anglicanism in Rupert's Land.

The church service, the focal point of the religious activities of the missionaries, served two purposes. Through the sermon the clergy placed the various religious and social values of the Evangelical movement before the populace. Though the specific topics of West's sermons are not contained in the C.M.S. documents, his various writings indicate that three topics probably predominated. His numerous refer-





ences to the religious and social necessity of marriage suggest that this topic received a great deal of attention in his sermons. His words did not go unheeded. Shortly after he arrived, his journal recorded his success:

We continued, ... to have divine service regularly on the Sabbath; and having frequently enforced the moral and social obligation of marriage upon those who were living with, and had families by Indian or half caste women, I had the happiness to perform the ceremony for several of the most respectable of the settlers, ....<sup>1</sup>

West's criticism of drunkenness apparently did not go unheeded either. On Christmas day, 1822, West wrote that "the return of this season of the year brings with it its usual criminal indulgence in habits of drunkenness; though I have not witnessed so much general intoxication among the settlers as in former years, ...."<sup>2</sup> Other probable sermon topics were crowned with some success as well. In the spring of 1821 West noted:

Though I see not as yet any striking effects of my ministry among the settlers, yet, I trust, some little outward reformation has taken place, in the better observance of the Sabbath.<sup>3</sup>

However, the church service was not used solely to set forth Evangelical values.

The rites of the Church associated with birth, marriage, and death served to draw the people to the mission. Increasingly the people found the church playing a useful role

<sup>1</sup>West, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>West, Journal, December 25, 1822, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>3</sup>West, p. 57.





in their lives. The sacrament of communion identified those who chose to make a public confession of their faith. This act was another means of drawing individuals to the Church. To West the various rites, including communion, were of great importance. In his journal he stated that the "formulary" of the Church of England was "well adapted to express the feelings of the mind penitentially exercised, yet exalted in hope at the throne of a covenant God in Christ Jesus."<sup>4</sup> Such rites were not to be modified. In May, 1821, West recorded an interesting attempt to integrate his educative activities with the church service and thereby strengthen the church's tie with the people:

The 20th being Sunday more than one hundred of them [settlers] assembled at the Fort for divine service; and their children from the school were present for public examination. They gave general satisfaction in their answers to questions from the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion, and Lewis's Catechism....<sup>5</sup>

In spite of these efforts the church service did not achieve the degree of importance in the settlers' lives that West desired.

The church service as utilized by West proved to be of limited value. A variety of reasons provide an explanation for this state of affairs. Without doubt the language problem was a factor. Another explanation lies in the lack of sophistication of many in the congregation. Jones' journal for February 20, 1825, contained an entry which, no doubt, applied to West as well:

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 58.





Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, [sic] a native Indian breakfasted with me, I had much interesting conversation with her: she said that she enjoyed the plain and familiar teaching in the Class [Sunday school]; but that the preaching was in general too deep for her....<sup>6</sup>

This entry suggests that the usefulness of the church service was limited to the Europeans. It is likely that some of the Indian and half-breeds were attracted to the various rites; however none became communicants during West's tenure as chaplain.<sup>7</sup> The usefulness of the church service among the Europeans was limited further by West's inflexibility. His failure to modify various features of the service deprived his mission of the support of the Kildonan Scots. As West himself observed:

I expected a willing cooperation from the scotch [sic] settlers, but was disappointed in my sanguine hopes of their cheerful and persevering assistance through their prejudices against the English Liturgy, and the simple rites of our communion.<sup>8</sup>

West's conflicts with the Swiss and the Company officers further limited the usefulness of the church service.

Although this method did not enjoy the success envisaged by West, it did prove to be of some value. Following the completion of the mission building in 1823, West estimated the size of his congregation at 100 to 130 people.<sup>9</sup> These figures would constitute between one fifth and one quarter of the Settlement's Protestant community.<sup>10</sup> However,

<sup>6</sup>Jones, Journal, February 20, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., December 22, 1825, notes the first Indian woman and her half-breed daughter who became communicants.

<sup>8</sup>West, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup>West, Journal, June 11, 1823.

<sup>10</sup>Harrison, Minute on the formation of a Mission among the Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company territories, received by the C.M.S., January 28, 1822, estimates the population at "600 or 700 settlers besides Canadians and Halfbreeds." Other estimates place the white population as low as 400.







in view of West's troubles with the various communities one must assume that many were withholding their full support. An interesting contrast to West's figures are those given by George Harbidge<sup>11</sup>, the lay teacher, who held services during the interval between West's departure and Jones' arrival. Harbidge recorded the attendance at these services as between thirty and fifty people.<sup>12</sup> The discrepancy in the two sets of figures could possibly be attributed to the intense dislike which many of the settlers felt for Harbidge,<sup>13</sup> as well as the fact that regular services were not held because Harbidge was not an ordained clergyman. In these circumstances the figures quoted by Harbidge would constitute the mission's "hard-core" support. Though this was not the support West envisaged, it was a beginning.

Jones made few changes in the church service used by West. Yet these changes coupled with the increased stability of the Settlement and Jones' own abilities, were a major factor contributing to the surprising success of the Anglican mission in the years 1824 to 1826. Jones placed Evangelical values before the people in an energetic fashion. A Company officer who was on his deathbed was admitted to the church on condition that he marry his Indian wife.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>The spelling of this name in the various documents included "Harbadge" and "Harbridge."

<sup>12</sup>G. Harbidge to Secretaries, July 18, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>13</sup>Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A., in which Jones gave his reasons as to why the C.M.S. should recall Harbidge and his wife. These reasons included "a haughtiness of disposition which entirely alienates him..."

<sup>14</sup>Jones, Journal, November 18, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





When the lay teacher, Harbidge, proved intemperate in his use of liquor on one occasion, Jones took decisive and unalterable steps:

Mr. Harbidge has fallen into a sin which is the grand obstacle against the Gospel in this land of heathenism. I do not mean to say that he is an habitual drunkard, but he suffered himself to be led astray. ... nothing but his removal would convince the public here of my detestation of his conduct: consequently, his place was occupied last Sunday by Wm. Garrioch, ...<sup>15</sup>

It would appear that Jones' use of the church service to set forth Evangelical values was not significantly different from West's use of the same method.

Jones' flexibility was apparent in the modifications he made in the rites of baptism and marriage and the sacrament of communion. Initially somewhat bewildered, by the lack of sophistication accompanied by the obvious sincerity of some of his parishoners, Jones requested assistance from the C.M.S. in establishing criteria to decide whether these rites should be withheld or not.<sup>16</sup> The Society wisely left such decisions in Jones' hands.<sup>17</sup> In these circumstances he modified aspects of the liturgy which offended his Presbyterian parishoners.<sup>18</sup> No doubt such changes simplified the church service and made it more comprehensible to the Indians and half-breeds. However, the revisions did

<sup>15</sup>Jones to the Assistant Secretary, July 16, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>16</sup>Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>17</sup>Coates to Jones, March 11, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>18</sup>D. Gunn and C. Tuttle, p. 267.





not create a meaningless ritual of little significance. Jones rigorously applied a simple criteria to judge the suitability of persons who were permitted to take holy communion. The yardstick used by the missionary was the sincerity of the individual in his confession of faith. When the Swiss requested communion, Jones refused until he was satisfied that they had a basic understanding of the act and they were sincere in their desire to live a Christian life.<sup>19</sup> When Cockran proved to be very forceful in his examination of possible candidates for communion Jones was not displeased.<sup>20</sup> By establishing simple and clear cut qualifications for participation in the various rites and the sacrament of communion, Jones made them available to all. Yet by rigorously examining the candidates for communion he made the act an achievement. Among the non-Europeans, communion offered status. It marked the initial step towards competence and acceptance in the whiteman's world. Immediately before Christmas, 1825, an Indian woman and her half-breed daughter received communion.<sup>21</sup> They initiated a course of action which would be followed by many others. The church service was proving to be a useful means of evangelizing the Indian and half-breed as well as the European.

Two additional factors account for Jones' success-

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<sup>19</sup>Jones, Journal, January 14, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., December 21, 1825.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., December 22, 1825.





ful use of the church service. From his correspondence it is apparent that he integrated the two aspects of the church service. This development is not apparent in West's writings. In effect Jones made communion dependent upon the degree to which the candidates reflected basic Evangelical values. When some of the communicants did not behave in a suitable manner during a fair at Frog Plain, Jones did not hesitate to publicly deny them communion.<sup>22</sup> By such actions Jones made the church service something more than a social excursion on Sunday. The demands of Evangelicalism were closely linked with its rewards. The connection between Evangelical behavior and church participation was clear not only for the whites, but the Indians and half-breeds as well.

Another factor which was significant in Jones' use of the church service was the extent to which the parishoners participated in the work of the mission. Shortly after his arrival Jones saw the necessity of a church further down the Red River among the newly arrived retired servants and their families. The principal settlers agreed and with Governor Pelly's leadership established a subscription list for its construction.<sup>23</sup> When Jones replaced Harbidge with Garrioch, the people were pleased, no doubt, that one of "their own" could qualify for such a position. By such actions Jones brought the Church into closer contact with

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., October 31, 1824.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., June 15, 1823.





those whom it was supposed to serve. Not only did the Church offer a new way of life; it also became a vehicle through which the settlers could take action to improve their own circumstances. With Jones the church service was a means of attracting the attention and support of the Protestant community to the Anglican mission. A secure foundation for Anglicanism in Rupert's Land obviously required popular support.

Whereas the church service involved the participation of some from all elements of the Protestant part of the Settlement, the prayer meeting was the particular domain of small groups of individuals from the Kildonan Scots and the retired servants communities.<sup>24</sup> It would appear that in comparison with the church service the less formal circumstances of the prayer meeting better suited the religious interests of these people. Emotional displays of faith would not meet the disapproval of the more sophisticated settlers.<sup>25</sup> In addition, the topics of prayer were possibly more relevant to the lives of these people and at the same time more comprehensible than the topics of the sermons delivered in the church. Although no evidence suggests that West was aware of this form of worship in the Settlement, it is probable that its origins lay with the Kildonan

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<sup>24</sup> Although no names are mentioned by the clergy, it would appear from various references that the vast majority of settlers participating in the prayer meeting were either Kildonan Scots or retired servants and their families.

<sup>25</sup> Jones, Journal, March 5, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A., suggests an emotional display which would possibly not be approved by the officers and the principal settlers.





Scots who maintained some form of religious worship from their arrival in the region during the Selkirk period.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to West, Jones seized upon this method of evangelization and developed it as one of the major means of persuasion for the missionaries.

The first reference to the prayer meeting is found in Jones' journal for October 15, 1823:

This evening [I] was very much delighted in meeting some friends at the Church who had been accustomed since Mr. West's departure to assemble on Wednesday evenings for social prayer, the number was not great....<sup>27</sup>

In the following period the popularity of this form of worship increased. Again, it was the settlers who took the initiative. On March 5, 1825, Jones wrote:

[I] Went down the River about 10 miles where some of the Settlers have lately established a Prayer meeting of their own accord. They had not the least expectation of my joining them, yet the house was crowded.... The attention was great and many shed tears, .... I returned as far as Mr. T [sic] and slept there, .... Here again I was delighted to hear this Half Breed family at their evening worship singing with much emotion....<sup>28</sup>

Jones apparently respected the sincerity expressed at these meetings and did not attempt to confine them to the Anglican form. Instead he incorporated the prayer meeting into the missionary program. Both Jones and Cockran attended as many meetings as possible.<sup>29</sup> In this way the missionaries acquired an extremely useful means of persuasion.

<sup>26</sup>Provencher to Bishop Plessis, January 15, 1819, as quoted in Documents..., ed. G. L. Nute, p. 191, states that "the Skotch [sic] ... marry among themselves without ministers."

<sup>27</sup>Jones, Journal, October 15, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>28</sup>Jones, Journal, March 5, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>29</sup>Both the journals of Jones and Cockran contain frequent references to attendance at prayer meetings.





Pastoral visitations among the various communities was the major means by which the Evangelical values expressed in the church service and the prayer meeting were made a part of the daily lives of the inhabitants. Besides offering a further opportunity to preach the values of Evangelicalism and to assess the success of the missionary effort, these visits allowed the clergy to offer their services in such local crises as family disputes or serious illness. With West the visits did not prove to be a successful means of evangelizing the people. However, with Jones they were an important means of uniting the other methods of persuasion into a coordinated program to establish Evangelical Anglicanism on the banks of the Red River.

West's use of the visit reflected his interest in the Indian and his preoccupation with Rupert's Land rather than the Settlement. His initial visits among the Indians were concerned with the recruiting of children for his proposed Indian residential school.<sup>30</sup> In time he attempted to acquaint the Indian with basic Evangelical truths -- to no avail.<sup>31</sup> His visits with the Company officers appeared more in the light of formal social visits rather than as a means of religious persuasion.<sup>32</sup> In view of the many conflicts which marked West's years in the Settlement, it is reasonable

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<sup>30</sup>West, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, June 2, 1823, Series B235/a/5, H.B.C.A.





to assume that his visits with families among the other communities were equally unsuccessful. However, West did not hesitate to offer his services in the interests of the community. On one occasion he was responsible for a temporary reconciliation between Clarke and Bulger;<sup>33</sup> though, on another occasion he found that non-intervention was more discreet than involvement:

One of the principal settlers informed me this morning, that an Indian had stabbed one of his wives in a fit of intoxication at an encampment near his house. I immediately went to the Lodge to inquire into the circumstance, and found that the poor woman had been stabbed in wanton cruelty, through the shoulder and the arm, but not mortally. The Indians were still drunk, and some of them having knives in their hands, I thought it most prudent to withdraw<sup>34</sup> from their tents, without offering my assistance.

West's failure to successfully utilize pastoral visitation was as much a result of circumstances in the Settlement as it was the deficiencies of his own personality. Yet a beginning was made which Jones, and later Cockran, would develop into a major missionary tool.

Soon after his arrival, Jones developed pastoral visitation as a major means of advancing the Evangelical cause. These visits became an essential part of his weekly timetable:

This being a day I generally devote to going among the people I called in the morning on several Orkneymen and Swiss Settlers, and on my way home dined with Mr. Mackenzie the Company's Chief Officer at Fort Garry.<sup>35</sup>

On these occasions Jones was able to adapt his conversation

<sup>33</sup>West, Journal, October 5, 1822, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>34</sup>West, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup>Jones, Journal, February 24, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.





and behavior to the particular circumstances which he encountered. His visits with Simpson and the other Company officers naturally differed in topics of conversation from those with the retired servants and others. This flexibility was impossible with the church service and the prayer meeting. In addition, the visit was an excellent means of placing the talents of the missionaries at the disposal of the populace. When small crises of a local nature developed, such as family disputes or serious illness, individuals often turned to the missionaries for assistance. Most of the communities in the Settlement lacked traditions which could assist individuals and families meeting various problems. Death was a particularly harsh experience for the half-breeds. Despair and bewilderment beset families who suffered the loss of a child, wife or husband.<sup>36</sup> The missionaries filled this cultural void with their simple answers and promises of a glorious future. In this way they eased the lot of the dying and the remaining members of the family. The death-bed conversion, so much a part of Evangelical literature in Britain, became an increasingly common phenomena in the Settlement.<sup>37</sup> In these circumstances the missionaries filled a need which the church service and the prayer meeting could not fulfill.

With Jones the three religious means of persuasion,

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<sup>36</sup>In such circumstances a variety of tasks faced the clergy. These tasks ranged from seeing to the preparation of the body for burial to ensuring that the family had adequate means to sustain itself.

<sup>37</sup>Jones, Journal, November 18, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





-- the church service, the prayer meeting, and visitation by the clergy -- functioned as a unified program. Through this relatively successful program the missionaries were able to offer stability and hope to many of the settlers.<sup>38</sup> The decline of the fur trade myth and the radical statements and actions of the few who continued to actively thwart the Company created a sense of hopelessness and insecurity for many in the Settlement. Evangelical Anglicanism provided alternatives. Through the means of persuasion the missionaries presented their explanations and solutions for the chaotic circumstances in the Settlement. At the same time the settlers were given some opportunity to participate in the program that promised them a better future. Although the religious means of persuasion were successful in reforming the behavior of many of the whites and converting some of the Indians and half-breeds, the methods were not a complete solution for the tasks facing the missionaries. The immigration of retired servants and their families in increasing numbers presented additional problems. Many families no longer had a white parent who, in his advancing years, might fondly recall his childhood and youth in Britain and lead his family to the Church. A similar situation existed in the Settlement. The children of the Kildonan Scots knew the homeland only through

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<sup>38</sup> Jones to Secretaries, July ? , 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A., gives figures which in comparison with those given by West four years earlier suggest a four-fold increase in support for the mission. As Jones stated: "I should average the attendance at each church at from 250 to 300 people."





the recollections of their parents. It was essential to the Anglican missionary effort that both the immigrants and the children be provided with knowledge of the homeland and the necessary skills to increase this knowledge. Education of the newcomer and the young was the means of preserving and introducing the essential values of British society.

## 2. THE SCHOOLS

The schools were one of the most important means of persuasion used by the Anglican missionaries in their attempt to bring Christianity and civilization to Rupert's Land. Two aspects of the use of the schools are of significance to this study. In the first place they were one of the chief means by which the people were exposed to various features of British civilization. Although the principal aim of the educational program was the conversion of the children and young adults to Evangelical Christianity, it soon became apparent that the schools would have to be concerned with other aspects of British culture as well. The schools were also significant for another reason. Initially the schools were designed as a principal means of Evangelizing the people of Rupert's Land. With the passage of time this emphasis on Rupert's Land declined. Jones and Cockran shifted their concern to the educational needs and resources of the Settlement. This change in missionary emphasis has been noted in the other spheres of activity of these men. It was a necessary development if the schools were to play their part in securing a firm base for Anglicanism in the Settlement.





West established three different types of schools in order to achieve his educational goals. The first, and most important in his estimation, was the residential school for Indian children. He had hoped to create a similar institution for orphan half-breed children, but he was unable to gain adequate support from either the Company or the Church Missionary Society. A day school was established for the children of the settlers since they could use the facilities of the Indian school and receive their instruction with the Indian children without adding appreciably to the difficulties of the teachers. The Sunday School was established chiefly for the benefit of the Indian wives and older half-breed children, although some of the Kildonan Scots attended as well. Jones accepted West's school system. He made no changes except to expand the facilities when a new church was constructed a few miles to the north of West's mission. Of the three schools developed by West and expanded by Jones, the Indian school initially offered the greatest hope for success.

The school for the Indian children was to be the principal means "for the introduction and extension of Christianity among the Indians."<sup>39</sup> It was hoped that the educated Indian youths would become either lay preachers or, if not "called", examples of the Christian life for their

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<sup>39</sup>Pratt to Harbidge, March 10, 1824, O.C., C.M.S.A.





own people to follow.<sup>40</sup> The school was important to the Anglican missionaries for another reason. The Church Missionary Society, the major supporter of the missionaries, was interested solely in the conversion of the Indian. The school was the principal means of achieving this end. Should the school not prove successful, the Society might conceivably withdraw its support and thus threaten the continued existence of the whole mission.<sup>41</sup> West's greatest contribution to the Anglican mission was his delineation of what the Indian school ought to achieve and the nature of the curriculum needed to achieve these goals. His various writings reveal the evolution of an educational philosophy which would guide the Anglican missionaries in Rupert's Land for many years. Jones approached the Indian school with the same enthusiasm as West. Yet by 1826 he and Cockran saw that it no longer offered the same promise of success.

West's educational goals were rooted in Evangelical values. They were the goals of his missionary activity in the region of the Settlement. In a somewhat histrionic passage

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<sup>40</sup>None of the documents state precisely that the C.M.S. envisaged the children as future ministers or catechists. However, such future possibilities for some of the children must have occurred to the missionaries in view of the purpose of the school.

<sup>41</sup>Although the directors of the C.M.S. took pains to make their particular interests known to the missionaries, they never intimated that they would withdraw their support. However, such a possibility may have influenced Jones to see the half-breeds and later the daughters of the Company officers as alternatives to the Indian children when the Indian school did not enjoy the success initially envisaged for it by the clergy.





in his published work West defined his task:

What can calm these ferocious feelings, and curb this savage fury of the passions in the torturous destruction of defenceless women and sucking infants? What, but the introduction and influence of Christianity, the best civilizer of the wandering natives of these dreary wilds, and the most probable means of fixing them in the pursuit of agriculture, and of those social advantages and privileges to which they are at present strangers.<sup>42</sup>

West made little headway in his attempts to evangelize the adult Indian. However, it appeared to West "that a wide and most extensive field, presented itself for cultivation in the instruction of the native children."<sup>43</sup> For this reason West "had to establish the principle, that the North-American Indian of these regions would part with his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion."<sup>44</sup> After West arrived in the Settlement, he was followed by a few Indian children whose presence he had arranged either en route or shortly after his arrival. In a small cabin near the Kildonan Scots West and the lay teacher, Harbidge, started their Indian residential school.

In respect to curriculum West felt that "the primary object in teaching them was to give them a religious education; ..."<sup>45</sup> yet other aspects of life were not to be ignored. "The use of the bow was not to be forgotten, and they were hereafter to be engaged in hunting, as opportunities and circumstances might allow."<sup>46</sup> It was not long before West saw

<sup>42</sup>West, p. 90.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.





that the nomadic life of the Indian constituted the principal hindrance to their conversion. Significant progress would be achieved only after the Indians adopted a sedentary way of life. Thus agriculture must become an important part of the curriculum of the school. In his journal West expounded this view:

As agriculture was an important branch in the system of instruction, I had given them some small portions of ground to cultivate; and I never saw European school boys more delighted than they<sup>47</sup> were, in hoeing and planting their separate gardens.

To assist West, the Company placed at least part of the former North West Company Fort at his disposal. The area back of the Fort, West's garden, was "to be known as the School of Industry."<sup>48</sup> Although "Christianity" remained West's major goal "civilization" took on added importance. In a conversation with Peguis, the Saulteaux chief, West explained this concept in greater detail:

We smoked the calumet, and after pausing a short time, he shrewdly asked me what I would do with the children after they were taught what I wished them to know. I told him they might return to their parents if they wished it, but my hope was that they would see the advantage of making gardens, and cultivating the soil, .... The little girls, ... would be taught to knit, and make articles of clothing to wear like those which white people wore; and all would be led to read the Book that the Great Spirit had given to them, which the Indians had not yet known, and which would teach them how to live well and to die happy.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>48</sup>Winnipeg Post Journal, March 13, 1823, Series B235/a/5, H.B.C.A.

<sup>49</sup>West, p. 102.





The path to civilization in the school was not limited to the development of technical skills. An effort was made to acquaint the children with British social traditions and habits. An entry from Jones' journal, December 25, 1823, illustrates this point:

In order to comply with the terms of Mr. West's Charter, we dined all together at the School after service upon Roast Beef (Buffalo) and Plumb-pudding: the young mountaineers who had never seen such a set out before manifested their<sup>50</sup> delight in the expression of their countenances.

When West left the Settlement in 1823, it appeared that the children at the Indian school were making significant progress. As they arrived at the school at different times there was a great discrepancy among them with respect to the skills and knowledge which they possessed. However, most were able not only to speak English but to read it as well.<sup>51</sup> It appeared that West had found the key to the conversion of the Indians of Rupert's Land.

Jones continued West's program of education at the school. If anything his task was made more difficult by the added number of children sent to the school by the Company Factors at the different posts.<sup>52</sup> Jones journal recorded numerous instances of the increasing religious consciousness of the children.<sup>53</sup> At the same time agricultural skills were emphasized, although "moderation must be used, ... their

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<sup>50</sup>Jones, Journal, December 25, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>51</sup>West, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup>Jones to Pratt, October 22, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.





spirits must not be broken, ....."<sup>54</sup> In spite of these developments the school was judged only a qualified success by 1826. In that year Simpson informed Jones that no more children could be obtained for the school because of the rumours, current throughout Rupert's Land, questioning the treatment of the children at the school.<sup>55</sup> The deaths of some of the children appeared to furnish support for these rumours.<sup>56</sup> At the same time the children at the school who were ready to leave were not suited for the ministry.<sup>57</sup> However, as the missionaries depended upon the C.M.S. for the bulk of their financial support, and as the major interest of the Society was the Indian school, the missionaries decided to continue the program with the children that remained.<sup>58</sup>

Here we see the missionaries faced with some of the perennial issues of pedagogical method and philosophy. The reasons explaining why the children failed to develop as West had hoped were impossible to determine. However, one factor, acquiring an adequate teaching staff, occupied the time and energy of both West and Jones. West was accompanied to the Settlement by George Harbidge, the mission's lay teacher.

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<sup>54</sup>Jones to Coates, July 10, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>55</sup>Simpson to Jones, August 26, 1825, Series D4/5, H.B.C.A.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Jones to Secretaries, July [?], 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.





Later Elizabeth Bowden, Harbidge's fiancée, journeyed to the Settlement to take charge of the education of the Indian girls.<sup>59</sup> Both Harbridge and his wife were unsatisfactory. In a letter to Rev. J. Pratt on July 24, 1824, Jones mentioned that West had spoken to him during their brief meeting at York, criticising Harbidge's abilities. In the same letter Jones added his own remarks, finding fault with both Harbidge and his wife.<sup>60</sup> From this it would appear that Simpson's criticisms contained in a letter to Harrison in August, 1824 were not without foundation:

The Missionary Society School does not appear to me to have been hitherto well conducted, and neither Mr. nor Mrs. Harbridge [sic] calculated or qualified for the charge, he is ignorant, self conceited and without system or authority and moreover under the entire control of his wife, and she is above her situation, assuming more of the lady than is necessary, short tempered, paying little or no attention to her charge and treating the children under her care as menial servants without regard to their instruction or comfort.--<sup>61</sup>

Harbidge and his wife were replaced by William Garrioch, a retired officer of the Company. As Garrioch did not occupy a senior position in the Company's service, it is probable that his own education was not extensive. However, as he was familiar with the land and the people, Jones deemed him to be an adequate successor to Harbidge.<sup>62</sup> A replacement for

<sup>59</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ ? \_\_\_\_\_ to West, May 23, 1822, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>60</sup> Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A., also Jones to Assistant Secretary, July 16, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>61</sup> Simpson to Harrison, August ? , 1824, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.

<sup>62</sup> Jones to Pratt, July 24, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.





Mrs. Harbidge did not appear until the arrival of Cockran and his wife and family in the summer of 1825. Mrs. Cockran proved to be admirably suited for the position.<sup>63</sup> However, in spite of the improvement in the quality of the teachers in the Indian school the desired results were not obtained. Perhaps the day school would prove to be of greater value to the mission.

West's desire to establish a day school in conjunction with his mission grew out of his wish to extend to the half-breeds the same benefits that the Indian children received at the residential school. In 1820, while still at York Factory, he "often met with half-caste children whose parents had died or deserted them; who are growing up with numbers [i.e. numerous children] at the different posts in great depravity."<sup>64</sup> West submitted a plan for their education to the Company.<sup>65</sup> The directors reacted favorably,<sup>66</sup> but for a variety of reasons the plan never progressed. On his arrival in the Settlement West "found great difficulty in conveying to their minds [the half-breeds] any just and true ideas of the Savior, ...."<sup>67</sup> West continued:

This difficulty produced in me a strong desire to

<sup>63</sup>Bickersteth to Cockran, March 6, 1826, O.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>64</sup>West, p. 100.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>66</sup>Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 8, 1822, Series A6/20, H.B.C.A.

<sup>67</sup>West, p. 26.





extend the blessing of education to them: and from this period it became a leading object with me to erect in a central situation, a substantial building, which should contain apartments for the school-master, afford accomodation for Indian children, and be a day - school for the children of the settlers,....<sup>68</sup>

The day school was started soon after West's arrival in the Settlement.

During West's stay in the Settlement the school was clearly subordinate to the Indian residential school. It offered the same curriculum as the residential school except for agriculture. Apparently it was felt that the parents of the children could adequately fill this need. Emphasis was placed on religious topics and the necessary communication skills.<sup>69</sup> Undoubtedly the children were also exposed to British manners and forms of behavior through the various means of control and discipline used in the classroom.

The number of students was not great in the early years. The Kildonan Scots in particular did not send their children in large numbers.<sup>70</sup> In part this can be attributed to the increased distance involved after West moved his mission to the former North West Company post at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. However, the animosity between the Kildonan Scots and the mission's personnel, particularly Harbidge, appears to furnish a better explanation for the poor support extended by this community.<sup>71</sup> Although the

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>70</sup>West, Journal, June 11, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>71</sup>Harbidge to Secretary, July 18, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.





day school enjoyed little success with West, the situation changed a few months after Jone's arrival in the Settlement.

Within a year after West's departure, attendance at the day school increased dramatically. Jones found himself "more at a loss for competent teachers than anything else."<sup>72</sup> In an effort to meet the new interest in education Jones turned to the resources of the Settlement itself. Garrioch replaced Harbidge at the mission established by West. In the new church to the north Jones installed the British educated half-breed son of Thomas Bunn.<sup>73</sup> After Bunn resigned, Jones employed Peter Corrigan, "one of our Communicants, an old servant of the Company, and a Native of the Orkney Island."<sup>74</sup> The enthusiasm of many of the half-breeds and their white fathers was evidence of the school's success.<sup>75</sup> For most the move to Red River from the various posts of the interior was a forced exodus. They were ill-prepared to begin life anew in a civilized community. The schools offered a solution to their bewilderment. To the half-breeds they offered the means of success in the whiteman's world. Jones caught some of their enthusiasm himself. Perhaps the halfbreeds rather than the Indian children were the key to a successful missionary effort in the interior.<sup>76</sup> If this were true, the day

<sup>72</sup>Jones, Journal, November 16, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., July 26, 1825.

<sup>74</sup>Jones to Secretaries, January 31, 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>75</sup>Jones to Secretaries, July ? , 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>76</sup>Jones, Journal, December 11, 1823.





school was of greater importance than the residential school.

In spite of the success of the day school Jones was not without problems. The first problem, after that of staffing the schools, was the lack of financial support given by the Kildonan Scots to the school in their community. In 1823 it had been proposed that "the officers of the Company and the Principal Settlers ... shall pay 40/0 a year for each child, and the Servants of the Company with the Common Settlers 20/0 a year for each child as Day Scholars.<sup>77</sup>" By 1827 the charge was "specified at ... 15/. or 20/. per annum, according to the circumstances of the parents: ...."<sup>78</sup> Apparently, the Scots accepted this schedule of fees but later failed to fulfill their part of the bargain. Jones described the circumstances in a letter to the Secretaries of the C.M.S. in July, 1827:

I lament to say that there is an unchristian-like selfishness and narrowness of mind in our Scotch [sic] population.... Another instance of their unfortunate disposition, and from which I was more a sufferer, was in regard to a day-school which I established at the lower Church two years ago. I then went from house to house and soon got the names of upwards of 50 children and they readily and cheerfully acquiesced to pay 20/. per annum. Consequently I engaged a young man [Bunn], pious and of good education, to take charge of the school at 50£ per year. He attended and discharged his duty with fidelity and christian conscientiousness; but I soon, to my grief, saw what I did not expect. They kept their children at home some days in every week, in order to lessen the charge; others sent

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<sup>77</sup>West, Memorandums and Accounts of the Church Missionary Society Establishment, Red River, October 1, 1822 to May 31, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>78</sup>Jones to Secretaries, July ? , 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.





their children but openly pleaded that they were not able to pay, which I knew to be notoriously distant from the truth. The consequence of all<sup>79</sup> this to me was, that I had to pay ... £ 100, ....

This action by the Scots was in marked contrast to many of the half-breeds who manifested an intense desire to acquire the rudiments of an education. In spite of their poverty they tried all means to place themselves and their children in schools.

The second problem faced by Jones was the inadequacy of the day schools for the education of the children of the Company officers and some of the principal settlers. In December 1823, Simpson forwarded a prospectus for a "female boarding school," to the Company officers of the various posts. The students were to be taught by Miss Allez who would instruct young ladies in literature, French, arithmetic, and "Domestic Offices". In addition, the chaplain would visit the school once a week for "moral instruction."<sup>80</sup> Apparently, the "female boarding school" never advanced beyond this stage. However, in August, 1826, Jones noted that "some retired Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have requested me to become Guardian to their children, ...."<sup>81</sup> Six months later a plan for a "Female School" reached fruition.<sup>82</sup> Jones noted its significance in a letter to the Secretaries of the C.M.S. in January, 1827:

We have entered upon an engagement with some of the

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Simpson to Governor and Council, Southern Department, December 1, 1823, Series D4/3, H.B.C.A.

<sup>81</sup>Jones to Secretaries, August 24, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>82</sup>Jones to Secretaries, January 31, 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.





Gentlemen of the Compy's [sic] service, to commence a Female School under the charge of Mrs. Cockran. We are to receive ten Girls next Summer, deeming it not prudent to commence with a greater number owing to our prospect of provisions being rather precarious. I consider this an important step gained. There has existed throughout the Country, a most unfortunate prejudice against everything connected with this Colony; and never until now was any proposal of this kind even listened to: .... Experience has taught the Society, the influence which female education is calculated to produce in an uncivilized Country:..... The Females in question are never likely to see any Country, but this. In the course of time, they will be disposed of in marriage to persons in the Service, and thus stationed in different parts of the Country: and may we not hope, that thus we shall have Female Missignaries by and bye, throughout the Indian Territories?<sup>83</sup>

Jones obviously hoped that the new school would compensate partially for the failure of the Indian residential school. At the same time his position was strengthened by the support displayed by the Company officers. The new school also indirectly benefited the day school. The student body remained relatively homogeneous with respect to their class origins. Thus the teachers did not dissipate their energies in an attempt to achieve different educational goals for the children of the "common" settlers and the children of the "principal" settlers. By 1826 the day school proved to be one of the most valuable means of persuasion developed by the missionaries. The support which they received in the Settlement in later years could be attributed, in part, to the success they achieved in the day school during the foundation years.

West established the Sunday school as a means of

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<sup>83</sup>D. Jones to the Secretaries, January 31, 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.







providing the Indian wives and older half-breed children of the retired servants with the basic concepts involved in Evangelical Christianity as well as some knowledge of the English language.<sup>84</sup> By the time of West's departure attendance had reached fifty Sunday "scholars."<sup>85</sup> The school successively attracted large numbers from the newcomers who entered the Settlement after 1823. Within two years attendance increased three-fold.<sup>86</sup> The students were divided into four classes for each sex on the basis of proficiency. The texts used in these classes ranged from the Bible for the most advanced to the Sunday School Speller, number one, for the youngest children.<sup>87</sup> In order to provide teachers for the increasing enrollment, Jones turned to the resources of the Settlement. Retired officer Joseph Spense assisted Jones, Garrioch, and the Cockrans. Later, Thomas Wishart, "a Settler", and Charles Cook, "a Halfbreed Communicant", were added to the staff.<sup>88</sup> When Jones opened a Sunday school in the "lower Church... three Half Breed Teachers, one male and two female, ... were among the teachers."<sup>89</sup> They taught, sometimes in broken English, sometimes in Indian, ...<sup>90</sup> what little they knew of Christianity. In this manner the families of the retired servants

<sup>84</sup>West, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup>West, Journal, June 11, 1823, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>86</sup>Jones to Pratt, October 22, 1824, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Jones to Secretaries, January 31, 1827, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.





took the first tentative steps from the semi-barbarism of the trading post towards a civilized way of life.

The success of the Sunday school was apparent shortly after Jones appeared in the Settlement. In increasing numbers the Indian wives of the settlers and their older children received communion and joined the Church.<sup>91</sup> As many found the church service beyond their comprehension<sup>92</sup> it would appear that the Sunday school was the means of their conversion. In a letter to the secretaries of the C.M.S., dated July 29, 1830, Cockran enclosed a detailed census of the members of the Sunday School at the "lower" church.<sup>93</sup> This "lower" church was approximately fifteen miles below the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers among the retired servants and their families. One third of the Sunday school enrollment of 116 people was over the age of sixteen years. Of this number, a half were over twenty years of age.<sup>94</sup> Although these figures by no means involved all the individuals in the community, the large proportion of adults does indicate that Cockran's efforts were meeting with success. Other sources indicate that by 1826 the Sunday school was achieving what it was designed to accomplish<sup>95</sup> -- the conversion of the Indian wives

<sup>91</sup>Cockran to Secretary, July 29, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>92</sup>Jones, Journal, February 20, 1825, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>93</sup>At this time the Anglican mission had constructed three churches. The latest, known as the "lower church", was under Cockran's care at Grand Rapids.

<sup>94</sup>Cockran to Secretaries, July 29, 1830, I.C., C.M.S.A.

<sup>95</sup>Cockran to Secretary, July 29, 1826, I.C., C.M.S.A.





and older halfbreed children of the retired servants.

There can be little doubt that the schools were one of the most effective means of persuasion developed by the Anglican clergy. Perhaps their most significant achievement was the support they obtained from the families of the retired servants who were migrating to the Settlement in large numbers after 1823. In later years on occasion the stability of the Settlement depended upon the Anglican clergy's influence with this community. At the same time one cannot ignore the educational service they rendered to other communities in the Settlement. For the Kildonan Scots and the principal settlers the schools were one method of maintaining the children's cultural affinity with the British homeland. Even the clergy's original goal was not lost. Later developments, involving Rev. Henry Budd, Rev. James Settee and the Catechist, Charles Pratt, graduates of the Indian Residential School, showed that the clergy's view of the Indian school was too pessimistic. However, the missionaries' disappointment with the results of the Indian school did have beneficial results. Jones kept the dream of a missionary effort to Rupert's Land alive by placing added emphasis on the education of the half-breeds. These people, it was hoped, would be the missionaries to the Indians. Besides placing the mission's most important goal in a more realistic perspective, this view also focussed the clergy's attention on the Settlement. The day and Sunday Schools increased in importance. It was the resources of the Settlement to which the clergy turned to recruit new teachers and additional financial support. By limiting their efforts





to the educational interests of the Settlement, they were strengthening the foundations of the Anglican enterprise in Rupert's Land.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

The years 1820 to 1826 saw the development of a secure foundation for Anglicanism in the Red River Settlement. In later years the Anglican missionary effort in Rupert's Land would be directed from this base. In 1820 this development was by no means assured. A variety of problems faced West and the two young men, Jones and Cockran, who succeeded him. Their goal of Christianity and civilization had to be adjusted to the realities of life in their new environment. Workable relationships had to be achieved, not only with the organizations which had an interest in their various activities, but with the members of the different communities who inhabited the cabins on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. At the same time effective means of persuasion had to be developed if the missionaries were to achieve their goal.

In essence the goal of the Anglican missionaries was to create a society governed by Evangelical values and standards of behavior. These were no more than the traditional values and standards of behavior of the British middle class which were not in conflict with the Christian teachings of the Evangelical movement. In Britain the emphasis placed on these





values by the Evangelicals constituted a reformation of religion and society. In the Red River Settlement they constituted a new order -- a new way of life for the majority of the inhabitants.

West's single-minded pursuit of this goal nearly doomed the mission while it still was in its formative years. His desire to encompass all of Rupert's Land in an Anglican missionary effort proved to be unrealistic in terms of the circumstances in Rupert's Land and the resources of the mission. This goal coupled with his own inflexibility drove West to attempt the impossible in a society already rendered uncooperative by the force of events and circumstances. Even a missionary with Jones' capabilities could not have enjoyed success while the Settlement was in a constant turmoil. The inhabitants' search for the "good life" through participation in the fur trade brought them into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company. The resulting chaos did not constitute fertile ground for the Evangelical message. In addition, West alienated not only the Company but the members of the various "English" communities in the Settlement. In such circumstances it is not surprising that his development of the various means of persuasion lacked coordination and produced few results. Only the Indian residential school seemed to evolve as it was planned. West channeled a large part of his energies into this project. The result was an educational philosophy and supporting curriculum which would influence the activities of numerous Anglican missionaries in the future. This educational accomplishment and the detente achieved with the Roman





Catholic missionaries constituted West's contributions to the development of the Anglican mission. However, these accomplishments were overshadowed by other circumstances at the time of his departure in 1823.

In spite of the sense of failure which accompanied West's departure, all was not lost. His energetic pursuit of Christianity and civilization brought him into conflict with nearly everyone of importance. However, in this conflict West, in effect, delineated a wide field of interest and influence for his successors. West was not dismissed for criticizing behavior but for the manner in which he expressed his criticism. Thus should his successor use a more acceptable manner he would continue to enjoy the right of the clergy to criticize immoral behavior. This right had been won by West. The Settlement was no longer subject only to the morality of the fur trade. With West a new standard was introduced into the lives of the inhabitants. Behavior was now subject to examination and judgement on the basis of Evangelical values.

The year 1823 marked a major turning point in the development of the Anglican mission. West's departure was followed by the arrival of the young missionary, Jones, whose qualities of patience, humility, and warmth did much to heal the breach between the inhabitants and the mission. In his work Jones benefited from improving circumstances. In the conflict between the Company and the settlers, the Company was emerging victorious. This, in effect, denied the promise of the fur trade myth, the missionaries' major competitor in their efforts to win the loyalty of the "English" Protestant





communities. The emigration of the Swiss and Demeurons and many of the French Canadians following the natural disasters early in 1826 brought the search for stability in the Settlement to a successful conclusion. At the same time the Church Missionary Society reappraised the timetable and the sphere of activity that it had held in association with the Society's interest in the mission. The goal of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians of Rupert's Land was not abandoned. A more realistic timetable was established for the achievement of this goal. Jones and Cockran could see their efforts in the Settlement as a necessary part of this program and not as activities of inconsequential or secondary importance. The missionaries could now devote their attention to improving their means of persuasion.

The schools, church service, prayer meeting, and pastoral visitation were the means developed by the missionaries to evangelize the population. In addition to placing Evangelical values before the inhabitants, the missionaries became involved in their daily lives. In this way many of the inhabitants were drawn to the mission. It was becoming an increasingly relevant and important factor in their lives. Although the Indian residential school proved to be a disappointment, the day and Sunday schools were particularly effective. They maintained the cultural link with Britain for the children of the settlers as well as acting as a surprisingly successful vehicle for facilitating the adjustment of the migrating half-breeds to life in the Settlement. In the final analysis the support of the inhabitants con-





stituted the real strength of the mission.

By 1826 a secure foundation had been created for Anglican mission in the Red River Settlement. The missionaries had defined a realistic goal, delineated clear fields of missionary activity, and gained invaluable experience with the various means of persuasion. The accomplishments of Jones and Cockran during the next fifteen years were rooted in the foundation laid during the period under study.

The accomplishments of the three missionaries from 1820 to 1826 were of significance to the development of the Settlement as well as the Anglican mission. The years 1820 to 1826 were a crucial period for the inhabitants. They were at a cross-roads which offered either the barbarism associated with the hunt and the trapline or civilization through farming as it was carried on by some families in the Settlement. After 1823 the balance appeared to swing in favor of barbarism when large migrations of half-breeds began from the interior. However, the Anglican missionaries redressed the balance in favor of civilization. The Company played its role by destroying the appeal of the fur trade myth with its victory over the illicit traders. However, it was Jones and Cockran who seized the opportunity to lead the numerous half-breeds towards a life of farming rather than hunting. Through their various means of persuasion they offered the newcomers as well as others an explanation for the bewildering events which marked their lives. In addition, they provided the possible means of escape to the whiteman's world of status and wealth. The principal settlers were encouraged



attained the same position of importance  
by 1811 a severe famine had been visited on  
Andalusia and in the last years of the century  
after had led to a terrible famine which had  
of almost daily activity, and which had been  
the cause of many of the sufferings of  
Andalusia during the last years of the century  
in the peninsula and during the period of the  
The sufferings of the people of Andalusia  
Andalusia in 1811 were of a terrible nature and the  
sufferings of the people of Andalusia in 1811  
to 1812 were a terrible period for the peninsula. They were  
at a crossroads with other things and sufferings associated  
with the hunt and the struggle for civilization. The  
as it was carried on by Andalusia in the peninsula.  
After 1812 the balance appeared to swing in favor of the  
Andalusia then like millions of half-bred men from the  
interior. However, the Andalusian situation was not the  
balance in favor of civilization. The Company played its  
role by destroying the spirit of the Andalusian with its  
victory over the ill-fated. However, it was James and  
Cookman who seized the opportunity to lead the movement  
half-bred towards a life of farming and not hunting.  
Through their various means of persuasion they offered the  
newcomers as well as others an association for the better-  
ing events which marked their lives. In addition, they pro-  
vided the possible means of escape to the wilderness world  
of Andalusia and Spain. The movement which was encouraged



to accept their social responsibilities and provide leadership in the Settlement. Only the Kildonan Scots remained an unknown quantity. On occasion they were the most loyal and exemplary of the mission's supporters. At other times their betrayal was most disheartening. By 1826 the battle between the hunt and the farm had not been won, but the success enjoyed by Jones and Cockran offered hope for the future. The Settlement was an enclave of civilization in a vast expanse of barbarism. But it was an expanding enclave. Much of the energy for this expansion came from the Anglican missionaries residing in the Red River Settlement.



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## UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

A major part of the primary sources for this study came from the Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence, North West America Missions, Church Missionary Society. These microfilmed documents appear to be hand copied from the originals and entered in the incoming or outgoing letter books at the time the originals were sent or received. Thus the letters are interspersed throughout with parts of various journals. The Hudson's Bay Company microfilmed documents were used extensively for information concerning the illicit fur trade, relations with the clergy, and the economic and social development of the Settlement. Although these documents have been used in various books dealing the history of the Company or the trade between the Settlement and the United States, little use of the documents has been made in respect to the clergy and the economic and social development of the Settlement during the period under study in this thesis.

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## PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

The publications of the Champlain Society remain the best works with respect to the lives of those engaged in the fur trade. However, these works are not directly concerned with the Settlement. John West, Substance of a Journal, is particularly valuable as the C.M.S. files contain only parts of his original journal. Though perhaps no substitute for documents contained in various Roman Catholic institutions, G. L. Nute, Documents Relating to the North West Missions, 1815-1827, proved to be of great value in respect to the relationship between the two Christian communions in the Settlement.

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